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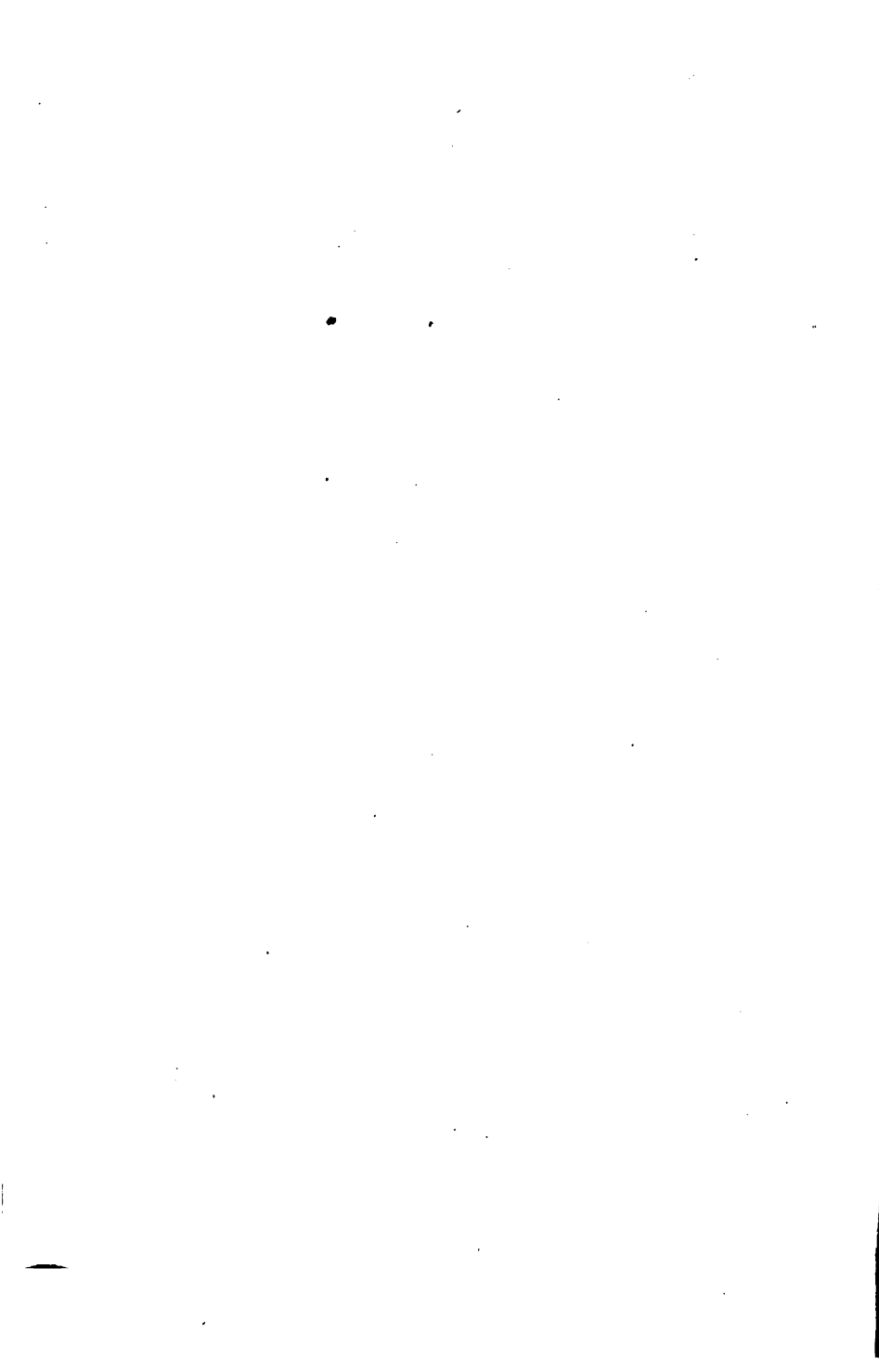
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Preface

The republican and democratic parties have issued millions of dollars worth of campaign literature this year. Tons are sent out daily from the Chicago headquarters. You will search all this in vain for those facts which bear most directly on the life and labor of the workers. This is a field as dreaded as the plague by these capitalist parties. They ignore the most vital facts altogether, and those they do use are most crudely perverted and twisted from the truth. We aim to throw a search-light on these distortions and to supply those indispensable facts the capitalists have so strongly "forgotten."

It is the conviction of all socialists that the presentation of the facts of our economic and industrial conditions is sufficient in itself to expose the uselessness and falsity of the capitalist parties. This little book brings before the workers the more important facts of the present situation—economic and political—from the most reliable sources. Government publications are used in most cases and other authorities have been utilized with the greatest care. It is hoped that the exposures of the real position of the two capitalist parties will be of service to every socialist.

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Introduction

This book is primarily addressed to the working class. The prosperity and the social and moral vigor of a nation depends upon the condition of its working class. Not only does the working class constitute the large majority of a nation but by this class all material and intellectual value is created. That this class produces all the material goods that make life possible and give to it its comfort and pleasure, is an apparent fact, although the "Captains and Directors" of industry step out of the industrial circle and claim a different classification and a different reward, and the "Financier" has secured the privilege of robbing this class of the greater part of the returns of its labor.

But the working class is also the source of all progress, intellectual and spiritual. It is this class that stands close to nature, wrenches from her the means of existence, and in this struggle learns nature's life-giving secrets. The individuals of this class are forced shoulder to shoulder, and in close contact with each other without the barriers of cast or conventionality, learn to know the human heart and develop the feelings of human kinship, without which true progress is impossible. It is in the experiences of this close struggle with nature and man that the forces of success and progress are found. In this struggle only does evolution produce types of real value to mankind.

But it is true that even here the working class is largely deprived of the honor and profit of its successes. The leisure class delegates its "educated and artistic" servants to collect the results of this struggle with nature and present them in a shape acceptable to the leisure class. Withdrawing from this struggle, that alone can give strength to the arm, and refusing useful co-operation with fellow men, that alone teaches sympathy to the heart, the leisure class is deprived of every stimulus to progress. The principle work of its members is to ex-

pliot the laboring class and to cheat one another. Its desire is to perpetuate its present conditions as evolved from the dark ages of the past. When the light of progress kindled by the laboring class forces it to look ahead, its only thought is whether this new light may not by the alchemy of its cunning be turned into gold.

The laboring classes have no time to formulate for their own use the experiences gained in the struggle. This is done for them by the servants of the leisure class. Labor's inventions, by which toil is saved and nature made to yield her riches, are turned into increased sources of profit to the capitalist. The knowledge gained in production in the factory and in exchange of these products between the distant parts of the globe is turned by the "economist" into a "science" that dictates that the producer must receive only enough to subsist, and the owner all the rest, however fabulous the amount; and when experience shows that one owner receives as much as 18,000 producers, this apostle of science declares that each has received its just reward. (J. B. Clark, *Distribution of Wealth*.)

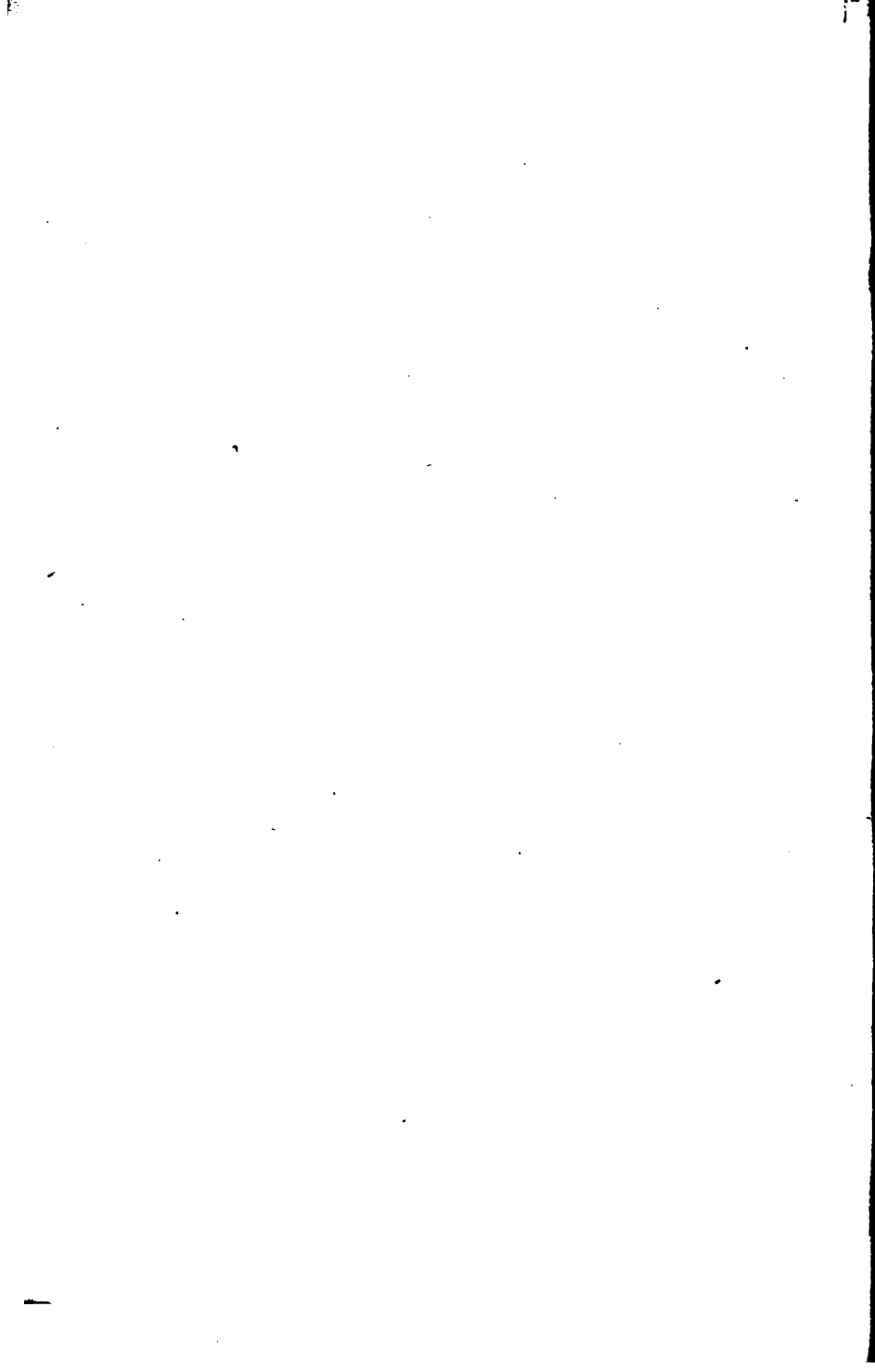
The law also steps in and sanctions the sacredness of contract by which the weak barter to the strong their life and health for a piece of bread; it declares that the system under which this is possible is inviolable. When the working man turns away from the trouble of the present and scans the unknown for a ray of hope, other representatives of the leisure class preach to him that this status of master and servant existed from the beginning and therefore must remain to the end; and that man's duty is to patiently endure this relation.

This book is primarily addressed to the working class, because it is the most important class. But it is also addressed to all other classes whose superior existence is made possible by the existence of the working class. A people may shine by a civilization that is only skin deep. The leisure classes may make an impressive appearance through their glittering education. Philosophy, art and religion may be the topic of conversation among the clubs. Bourses and trade halls may be filled with excited speculators who bandy thousands and millions as if they

were scraps of paper, and not dollars. Newspapers may cover the land as dry leaves the autumn forest, seemingly attesting the desire for universal information. But if the laborer has not attained that plane where life's opportunities lie open to him and he cannot use the results of his own labor for his own development, progress will stop from a lack of incentive. The few who can enjoy will make the enjoyment an end in itself, because the struggle for existence is no longer an immediate necessity. The many who toil will lose the power of progress, because with the fruits of labor they are also deprived of hope, and without the inspiration of hope no man struggles forward.

Therefore this book is also addressed to those who are able to look ahead and try to see the future, to those whose enthusiasm to share in the true development of his country has not been effaced by the scramble for riches.

But first and last this book is addressed to the intelligent working man, because the delivery of the working class can only be accomplished by its thinking members.



CHAPTER I.

The Evolution of the American Proletarian

[A proletarian is a worker who does not own the tools
with which he produces.]

When the Revolution of our fathers declared the right of all to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness the claim of equality was not a mockery. Inequalities in the possession of property were not pronounced. Labor was almost exclusively hand labor, performed with the simple tools that the laborer himself owned. If the laborer was poor, it was because he was not able with his undeveloped means to extort from nature a great return. Even when the master mechanic had in his employ a few men his profit from their surplus labor was small because of the small total production. Even the slave owner of the South was unable to extort from his cheap labor any considerable fortune, because of the crude method by which the staple product, cotton, was picked and prepared for the market. The opportunity of appropriating the labor of others had not arrived. Political equality was the result of the common struggle, the social inequality that still remained from the European ancestry was undermined by the general economic independence and the revolutionary philosophy of the time. All men—at least the white men—“were created equal;” each citizen had an equal opportunity to secure economic independence.

But the relation between the free citizens changed through the introduction of machinery. The invention of Watts' steam engine in 1769, Crompton's mule 1779, the power-loom 1789, and the cotton-gin 1793, introduced a new era in the cotton industry. The example was followed everywhere and the greatest of all revolutions, the “Industrial Revolution” had come.

Where formerly each laborer with his own simple tools produced merely enough for his own subsistence, leaving

no margin of surplus labor for his master, now, with improved methods of production the results of the labor of each were rapidly increasing. But expensive machines were substituted for simple tools and the little shop grew into a factory. The same number of men produced a greatly increased output. The owner of the factory with its complicated machinery could pay out of the product a share to sustain the laborers and still have a considerable surplus for himself. In this the vital change from the past to the present consisted. As long as each worker owned his own tools the product was his. No one could (in a legal way) fatten on the labor of another. But when the new improved methods of production came in, hand labor could not compete with the machine. The simple tools could not produce as much as the machine. He must give up his tools and hire himself to the owner of the machine. The machine turned out commodities with a small expenditure of labor and made it possible for the owner of the machine to appropriate for himself a larger amount from the total output and still leave a subsistence wage to the worker.

The factory production developed rapidly. The material gains to society were in many ways apparent. Commodities became diversified and cheapened. But the desire to get hold of this surplus of the worker's labor became also intensified among the capitalists. Factories started up everywhere. Every line of industry was brought under the factory system.

When the owner found others entering upon his field, competition between producers begun. But the competition was primarily for profit. To compete with others the capitalist must sell cheaply. The first thing to do then was to reduce operating expenses and cut wages. This made it still more impossible for the laborer to save capital sufficient to become his own master, and a distinct laboring class arose.

Another result of competition must also be noticed. Production was still carried on on an individual scale. Each capitalist tried to produce for as large a market as possible, in order to have as large a share of this surplus,

created by labor, as possible, and a startling result followed, a result which under the system of hand labor and direct contact between producer and consumer could never have happened. This result was over-production. More was produced than people could buy, and the market was glutted. Now followed a period of depression and if the condition was very acute a crisis took place. The wheels of industry were clogged and the whole machinery must stop, till by some process unknown to the capitalist owner the system should right itself and the capitalist again resume his profit exploitation.

Another important feature of the factory system was that the laboring class in the period of prosperity, when the capitalist regularly drew his surplus value, never received more than was necessary to keep it in fair working condition. When through improved methods labor was saved and products turned out at an increased rate, the laborer's share became smaller and smaller. Never do we find in this rapidly developing industrial system a tendency to let a greater proportion of the production fall to the laborer in the shape of increased wages. All through the capitalistic system of production there runs a thread of reddest color, the attempt of the capitalist owner to pay the lowest wages for which he can find men willing to work. The distinctive feature of the capitalistic system which inheres in its nature, especially when capitalism is combined with competition, is the desire of the capitalist to increase the surplus value, profit, rent, or what one may call it, by cutting down the wages of labor and increasing its hours. The system itself creates an irreconcilable conflict between these two parties, the capitalist and the wage-earner; no matter how strongly imbued the capitalist may be with humanitarian motives—as an employer he is forced to accept the methods of his class.

Still the American Proletarian was not fully evolved. A distinct working class had grown up that as a class promised perpetual existence; but it was possible for the enterprising individual at least to leave the factory and attain some kind of economic independence. The

American working man was saved by the boundless prairies of the West. As long as he had a chance to exchange his present dependent condition for a farm the competition between the workers could not bring them down to the lowest state. But when the public land fit for cultivation had either been taken by bona-fide settlers, or had been gobbled up by railroad corporations and speculators, this outlet for the laborer closed and a class of unemployed grew up that threatened to force the competition between the laborers for a job down to the subsistence point. We may therefore say that the fully developed American propertyless Proletarian came into existence when the laborer had no longer a choice between a factory position and a decent living on a farm. This period has already been passed.

According to the U. S. Census of 1890 the total number of persons who were unemployed at their principal occupation during any portion of the census year was 3,523,730, being 15.30 per cent of the total number engaged in gainful occupations in 1890.

1,818,865....unemployed from 1 to 3 months.
 1,368,418....unemployed from 4 to 6 months.
 336,447....unemployed from 7 to 12 months.

Which is equivalent to approximately 1,139,672 persons unemployed at their principal occupation for the entire twelve months.

The Illinois Labor Reports for 1886 published returns from representatives of 80,000 wage earners in regard to time employed during the year, as follows:

	Average weeks.	Per cent full time.
40,281 Trade Unionists.....	35.5	68
7,036 Coal Miners.....	23.4	45
5,567 Railroad Men.....	46.1	88
32,445 Knights of Labor.....	41.5	80
<hr/>		<hr/>
85,329 Workmen	37.1	71

Among unskilled workmen the amount of time lost is much larger.

This picture, although sad, is too rosy for the actual situation. With an army of tramps estimated at several hundred thousand, with another million that finds itself slowly but surely pushed down among the perennially unemployed, with the workers who have employment losing nearly one-third of their labor time, the American laboring classs will soon be forced to recognize its proletarian character.

It remains, however, to see what the American workingman has done in self defence against capital. The greatest of these defensive movements has been the trades union movement.

CHAPTER II.

The Growth of Trade-Unionism

The history of the American trades unions may be divided into five periods. First, the formative period reaching down to 1840 and including the early 10-hour movement. Second, a period of quiet growth on trade union lines accompanied by a wave of Fourierite socialism in the country, and then the concentration of all the interest in the War of the Rebellion ending in 1866. Third, a period of active effort in trade-union lines reaching to 1878. Fourth, a period of great strikes and efforts at general organizations, like the Knights of Labor culminating in 1886. Fifth, the present period of the dominance of the American Federation of Labor.

The real formative period of American trade unionism is from 1825 to 1840. In 1825 Robert Owen's communistic attempt at New Harmony, Ind., occasioned widespread social discussion. The same year the Working Man's Advocate, which Prof. Ely believes to be the first American labor journal, appeared in New York City. It was followed by the Daily Sentinel and Young America, all published by two Englishmen, George Henry Evans and Frederick W. Evans. These papers advocated the freedom of public lands, the breaking up of monopolies, the adoption of a general bankrupt law, a lien of the laborer on his work for his wages, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, equal rights for women and men, and the abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery. Over six hundred papers are said to have endorsed these demands. In 1830 the working man's convention was held in Syracuse, N. Y., and nominated Ezekiel Williams governor, giving him 3,000 votes, and in 1832 a delegated convention met in the State House at Boston. A

*The article of Trade-Unions in Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform is laid as the foundation of the historical data in this chapter.

10-hour movement was adopted. Laborers at that time were employed from 10 to 15 hours per day, and women and children were treated inhumanly. There were many strikes. They mainly failed, but the agitation went on. April 10, 1840, President Van Buren issued a proclamation establishing the 10-hour system in the United States government establishments. In 1841 a boat building firm in Bath, Maine, granted the ten-hour day. From 1840 to 1850 a wave of Fourierite socialism swept over the land. Horace Greely opened the pages of the New York Tribune to its advocacy.

This period reaching through the war saw the appearance of most of the great national trades unions. The National Typographical Union was organized in 1852, called in 1862 International, to admit Canadian unions. The hat finishers organized a national union in 1854. The iron moulders' union of North America was founded in 1858 and led to the more important Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in 1876. By 1860, twenty-six national unions were formed. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers started as "The Brotherhood of the Footboard" at Detroit in 1863. The Cigarmakers' National Union followed the next year. The Bricklayers and Masons International Union dates from 1865. Central labor unions, too, began to be formed in the larger cities. In New York, the Central Labor Union was formed as early as 1883. The National Labor Union was formed in 1861, but did not endure.

After the war the majority of the trades-unions concentrated their efforts on the short-hour movement. This movement has played a large part in the history of American unions. The philosophy of the movement, sometimes called the 8-hour philosophy, was first adequately formulated by two Boston men, Ira Steward and George E. McNeill. A Grand Eight Hour League had been formed previously, but had disappeared, when these two men with a few friends organized in the spring of 1869 the Boston Eight-hour League. It influenced the whole trade-union movement. With the aid of Wendell Phillips and others they succeeded the same year in securing the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau

of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other labor bureaus. The bureau's statistics aided the movement. Agitation for shorter hours became general. There were numerous strikes, many of them successful. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a ten-hour law for women and for children under the age of 18. In 1868 Congress enacted an eight-hour bill for United States employes. This was ignored, until at last Congress in 1869 enacted another law securing to all government employes full compensation for an eight-hour day. To-day eight hours is the rule in the government works.

The great order of the Knights of Labor was first established as a local secret labor union in Philadelphia, December 28, 1869. The result of the efforts of Uriah S. Stephens and six associates. At the time of its foundation this organization was practically pledged to a Socialist platform. It gradually spread but did not hold its first general assembly until January 1st, 1878, when Mr. Stephens was chosen General Master-workman. It aimed to unite all working men in one great organization, with the key thought that "an injury to one is the concern of all."

The great railroad strike of 1877, beginning on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at Martinsburg, W. Va., and leading to riots and destruction of property in various places, and particularly at Pittsburg, Pa., marks a period in the development of American trade-unions. The rioters were put down, but vast numbers of the people of Pittsburg sympathized with the strikers, and the general attention of the whole country was for the first time drawn to the labor movement. There was a rush into organization. By 1886 the Knights of Labor had a membership of over 500,000. But the growth was too rapid. Reaction set in. In 1885 and 1886 occurred two great strikes on the Gould system of railways south and west of St. Louis, the first successful, the second turning public sympathy against the strikers. In 1886, too, occurred the Haymarket riot in Chicago, the arrest, trial, and, in 1887, the hanging of the "anarchists." It called new attention to the necessity of industrial reforms. Meanwhile a growing dissatisfaction with the Knights of La-

bor had been developing. That order attempted to mold the men of all trades into one organization with little or no respect to the autonomy of each craft. Mr. Terence V. Powderly, who had been General Master-workman since 1879, with a General Executive Board, developed dictatorial powers, resulting in the weakening of the order. In 1881 some of the trades-unions organized a Federation of Trade and Labor Unions, which became the American Federation of Labor, at Columbus, O., December 8, 1886. This organization recognizes the autonomy of the separate crafts, but federates them for purposes of strength. Its appearance marks the beginning of the present period. It has become the one great labor organization of the country, and has grown as the Knights of Labor has gone down. Committed from the first to the short-hour movement, in 1889 it voted to make an effort annually to establish the eight-hour day in some one craft. The plan was for some trade each year to strike for eight hours, while all other trades should support that trade. The carpenters were chosen to lead. In May, 1890, they struck in almost all cities, and in many cities gained the day. In 1891 the miners were to strike, but the depressed conditions in their trade and the dual form of their organization prevented any action. This broke up the annual plan.

The American Federation of Labor embraces to-day most of the great unions of the country.

The trade-union movement is the direct outgrowth of the capitalistic system. It is the first and greatest exponent of the inherent antagonism between capital and labor. The possession of capital gave into the hand of the owner an organized power equal and even greater than that of all the workers combined. When this power was turned against individual workingmen, the latter was powerless to resist. Consequently his only resource was to combine with his co-workers.

The activity of the trade-unions has been confined to limits set by the capitalistic system: To protect wages and to shorten the hours of labor. The laborer has had two valuable allies in this struggle, the existence of free public lands that absorb part of the surplus numbers, and

the right to suffrage. As long as the organized laborer confined his efforts to the industrial field, fighting the capitalist on his own grounds, he could become only partly successful, inasmuch as labor organizations could never become as perfect as the organization of capital. With the rapid perfection of the latter organization the difficulties of labor to uphold its defenses increase. Even the statement of Samuel Gompers at a trust conference in Chicago, that it would by no means be impossible for the trade-unions to perfect their organization as satisfactorily as the organizers of capital improve theirs, so that trade-unions will without difficulty be able to resist the encroachments of capital, cannot remove the impression that the wish was the father to the thought. At no stage of the game has labor been able to equal capital in power. The greatest weapon of organized labor has been the competition between employers. When the trust is perfectly organized, it becomes substantially the only employer, and Gompers acknowledges that "the State is not capable to prevent the natural concentration of industry." The men trained in only one line of industry would have the same difficulties to contend with as the consumer who is within the power of the producer who controls the whole product. If a strike were threatened in one of the plants of the combination the orders of this plant could be transferred to another and a general strike all along the line would be necessary. At present the attitude of trusts is on the whole favorable to the trade-unions. The testimony of the trust magnates before the Industrial Commission shows a fervid desire to further the happiness of the laborer, with the exception of Mr. Gates, of the American Wire and Steel Company, who insists positively that his Company has not recognized trade-unionism and will not recognize it. The money wages under the trust have in many instances shown a small increase.

In its struggle with capital organized labor has overlooked an important factor. In its early growth capital outflanked labor. The laborer was dreaming of his democracy given him by the founders of the republic, but capital by the suddenness of its growth captured political institutions and tinctured them by its essence.

"The State has always been the representative of the wealth possessors." (Samuel Gompers in his report of the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.) Capital shaped the development of our political institutions while they were yet young and amenable to rapidly changing conditions. Thus our legislatures were filled by men whose characters had been formed by capitalistic interests. Our Courts were directed by men grown in the same atmosphere. There lay no conscious design in all this to pervert the democracy of our childhood. The material development of the century centered in industry, and it by the force of circumstances directed the development of our life. The reaction against this plutocratic regime took its first form in the early labor unions. So we have the plutocratic development in capitalism, and the democratic in organized labor. But plutocracy was the first one to be conscious of its advantages, and captured the political State in order to fortify itself. Democracy also had power which proved itself in the deference plutocracy showed in promising labor legislation as a bait for the labor vote. But as we show elsewhere these were empty promises. It is only when labor wakes up to consciousness of its power that it will recapture the advantages it thoughtlessly let slip, and makes the political institutions adapt themselves to the interest of labor. It is only when labor organizes its *vote* and uses its political power for the benefit of the whole people that true democracy will again permeate our life, political as well as industrial, and the sham democracy and republicanism, the daughters of plutocracy, will be a memory only of days when the many in their blindness let a few reign over them.

CHAPTER III.

Trusts—Industrial

COMPETITION MEANS INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY. ORGANIZATION
MEANS INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

The trust problem has occupied so much attention during the last years and has been made such a prominent issue of this campaign, that a thorough understanding of it is necessary. Much has been written about both the good and evil of trusts, but it has invariably been done from a capitalistic standpoint with an occasional reference to the effect upon the public in the form of rise in prices. Little has been done to show the relation of this highest form of industrial organization to the lives and fortunes of the laboring class, and that little has invariably been done in a partisan and confusing spirit, in order to enlist the sympathies of this class, to keep the political power and all that this implies with one or the other of the capitalistic parties.

No change in the history of the human race has brought such powerful results as the change from hand labor to machine labor. With the introduction of the factory in our life a new era began. Our industrial development has been praised by some as the wonder of all ages. Other voices have condemned it as the source of greater misery than the world has ever seen before. It is therefore necessary to analyze calmly industrial development to see whether it is the essential nature of this system to be a grievous burden to the men upon whose shoulders it must rest.

The increase of productive ability that this new system brought about is simply astonishing. Spinning machines operated by one operator and two girls, turn out more yarn than 11,000 old time hand spinners could do.

In weaving one man now does as much work as 95 could do with the old hand loom.

One man tending a nail machine turns out as many nails as 1,000 men formerly did by hand.

Formerly it required a good workman to gin 5 lbs. of cotton a day. Now two men with a machine turn out 4,000 pounds.

Two machines operated by two girls will now turn out 240,000 screws a day, while a few years ago 20,000 screws was the most that 20 skilled workmen could turn out in a day.

Formerly it took a quick worker to sew six pairs of shoes in a day. Now one man will sew 1,000 pair in a day with a machine.

With a match machine 300 girls will turn out as many matches as 8,000 men could formerly do.

In making wall paper one man does the work formerly requiring 100 men.*

In 1889 the Berlin Bureau of Statistics estimated the power capable of being exerted by the steam engines of the world as equivalent to 200,000,000 horse power, representing in men three times the entire population of the globe. It has increased very much since then.

Facts like these might be extended indefinitely. The ability of man to produce wealth is so marvelously increased that it would seem as though hunger and poverty ought to be abolished. All that is needed to satisfy every human need can be produced in abundance. It seems strange that want and misery can exist in the midst of this plenty. And they would have been removed if the productive power had been intelligently utilized and the wealth so abundantly produced had been equitably distributed among the people.

But from the start the means of production became separated from the producer. The small Colonial fortunes were invested in manufacturing establishments, small at first but destined to grow into gigantic undertakings. The Revolutionary fathers who anxiously tried to safeguard the equality and liberty of every citizen could not foresee that this infantile institution should grow into a power that would soon overthrow their

*See United States Labor Bureau Report on Machine and Hand Labor.

cherished equalities; that "the pursuit of happiness" would grow into a race for the possession of property, a property acquired by appropriating the surplus value of other people's labor.

The unprecedented rapidity with which the industrial revolution took place would naturally present problems the nature and outcome of which no one could predict. We cannot blame the framers of the Constitution that they did not provide for contingencies they could not foresee. We cannot even blame the early capitalists who availed themselves of the opportunity of a rapid acquisition of wealth and fixed the lines in which the new institutions should develop. Mankind, like individuals, must pass through its period of tuition and experiment. Its education takes a longer period than individuals, because it is composed of so many diverse elements. Its most afflicted members are the first to feel the result of misguided development and cry out that something is wrong. From this cry rises the desire to find the source of trouble and the remedy for the evil.

During the first period of capitalist production the markets were small and limited on account of the imperfect means of communication. But the capital accumulating in the hands of the owner demanded an outlet, and inventions to facilitate transportation were the result. The steamboat was perfected and the rivers were made the highways by which the products of the factory could be carried to distant settlements. Soon the rivers were too inadequate and railroads were built. Distance was now a minor factor in the calculations of the manufacturer. The limited home market expanded fast over State and Continent, only to be followed by the world market.

The building of water and railways had also other results. If one man in a factory could with the help of a machine supplant the labor of ten men under the old hand production, this country would soon be filled with men who had become superfluous in the industrial system. The farm land would, as it really did, absorb a number of them, but on the farms the productions of food stuffs would have become so large that no buyers could

have been found. The farmer would have soon been in a position where he produced food only for himself without being able to exchange his surplus food stuffs for other articles of necessity.

The building of railroads and other transportation facilities absorbed a large percentage of this otherwise unemployed class. The new industries, as machine production, manufacture of building material, etc., which this rapid development necessitated, gave employment to still others. The extractive industries like mining, forestry, wool raising, etc., absorbed still more. Thus we have seen in the chapter on the Evolution of the American Proletarian the laboring class in spite of the continued labor-saving inventions was still able to find employment in the various branches of industry or transportation, and the surplus found an outlet in profitable farming. It is only within the last decade that we are confronted with the grave problem of an ever-increasing class of permanently unemployed for which no place can be found in our system of production.

Some inconsistencies in the individual capitalistic system soon became apparent. The aim of each competitor was to reach as large a constituency of consumers as possible in order to extend his production and consequently increase profit. The endeavor of every capitalist was to over-reach all others in supplying a large market. But the knowledge of the conditions of the market was very limited and inadequate in spite of the improved method by which intelligence could be communicated. When each manufacturer tried to deceive and outwit his competitor, no systematic information of the needs of the consumers could be found, and the adjustment of production to the needs of the people became only a matter of hazard and speculation. Under this system of competition such maladjustment of industry took place as we have experienced under the name of over-production, hard times, crisis, and what-not. In all of these maladjustments the laborer was the ultimate sufferer. While the factories were closed to allow the stored up goods to be consumed, the laborer had no income, while capitalists still owned the products upon which he could

exist. It is true that individual capitalists suffer in the struggle of competition, but the loss of one is the gain of another, and the class as a whole sit secure through its ability to draw the surplus labor from the working class.

This does entirely away with the idea that presidential elections are the cause of crisis. When we come to inquire into the effect of other presidential campaigns upon the business situation, we find quite as little to support the complaint regarding their depressing influence. The statistics of business failures are perhaps the most accurate register of commercial activity or depression, and these indicate that presidential election years have been, on the whole, as prosperous as any other. R. G. Dun & Co.'s statistics go back to 1857—a year of panic which succeeded a presidential election in which the party in power remained in power. In that year there were 4,932 failures, with liabilities aggregating \$292,000,000. In 1860 when the next presidential election was held, the number of failures was but 3,676, and the liabilities aggregated but \$80,000,000. In 1861, owing to the outbreak of the war, the number of failures nearly doubled; but in 1864, when the next presidential election occurred, there were but 530 failures in all the loyal States, and the aggregate of liabilities was but \$8,000,000. The rise in prices due to the depreciation of greenbacks made it difficult for anybody to fail in that year. In 1868 and 1872 the number of failures was merely normal; and though it was exceptionally large in 1876, it was more exceptionally small in 1880. 1884 was again a year of depression, but 1888 was in every way normal, and 1892 was a year of marked prosperity. Apparently the complaint against presidential years has little historical basis except the recollection of the depression after 1892.

Many of the most severe crises of the United States have extended also over Europe and could not have resulted from our local politics. This is true of the crises of 1890, 1873, 1857, 1847, and others.

The present situation is also an example. The dull times are not confined to the United States. In England, to quote from the *Financial Chronicle*; "The dividends

declared by the railways have been very disappointing." And "Trade has undoubtedly received some check from the rise in the value of money, and still more from the high prices of coal and other raw materials." "In Berlin also trade has received considerable check." And "speculation is almost at a standstill;" while in France, the woolen centers are reporting "the dullest kind of dull business." Evidently, therefore, the present lull in trade here and there, like the great revival of the past three years, is an international phenomenon and is not to be accounted for by the change of party administration.

These maladjustments in the industrial system caused by competition point out their own remedies. Experience shows that certain advantages come from the possession of large capital. The storekeeper who supplies the necessities of a hundred families must employ a clerk, keep a horse and wagon and pay the same rent as the man who with the same help supplies two or three hundreds. The part of the operating expenses that falls upon each sale of the latter storekeeper becomes much less than that which falls on the former, and he can sell his goods cheaper. It is only a question of time when the former must be driven from the field. The large capitalist who can afford the most developed machinery, who has the advantage of the best situation, who can utilize all the by-products of the raw material, etc., has a tremendous advantage over the small capitalist. The latter must either leave the field altogether or form a combination with other capitalists.

Another factor also comes to the help of the large producer. All unnecessary and wasteful methods in the process of production must be an item of expense in the price. Contrary to the popular opinion competitive prices are frequently, if not usually, high prices. The cost of selling is in most cases a very important factor in the determination of price. The whole class of middlemen who come in between the producer and consumer is a heavy and to a great extent useless burden upon the consumer. If the functions of retail merchants, salesmen, etc., could be performed by one-tenth of the present number a tremendous saving would result to society. When

a manufacturer or railroad president finds that he has more men on his wage list than are necessary to perform his work the useless ones are cut off and told to seek employment where their work is more needed. No one raises a voice against the hardships of the dislocated men. If the middle class finds its present occupation gone, and is forced to take its share in productive labor, the sacrifice must be made for the good of the whole society.

The saving in this respect is considerable. Instead of representatives of a number of competing houses visiting the same community, one can do the business of the combination of these houses. When the American Steel and Wire Company was formed it was on this account possible to dispense with the services of nearly two hundred salesmen. One of the whiskey combinations spared in the same manner 300 traveling salesmen. From evidence before the Industrial Commission it was found that in the sale of alcoholic liquors in this country, there was a loss somewhere between the distiller and the consumer of at least \$40,000,000 a year. The result of this loss is a higher price to the consumer. The cost of advertising is enormous and advertisements are intended more to attract customers to a certain store than to increase consumption. This is also an important item of price. The saving in cross freights by the American Steel and Wire Company was estimated by Mr. Gates at more than \$500,000 a year. From the first annual report of the United States Commission of Labor we make the following quotation: "A man who weaves cloth for which he receives less than 4 cents a yard as a producer, may have to pay 75 cents a yard as a consumer, the profit of the retailer in such a case being at least 25 cents a yard; that is, the retailer for handling one yard of goods receives 25 cents compensation, where the weaver for weaving the same yard receives less than 4 cents."

These are only examples that could be repeated at great length, showing the advantage of the great corporation in reducing the operating expenses.

The path of evolution of the monopoly industry is clearly traced by Mr. Rockefeller in his testimony before

the Industrial Commission: "I speak from my experience in the business with which I have been intimately connected for about 40 years. Our first combination was a partnership and afterwards a corporation in Ohio. That was sufficient for a local refining business. But dependent solely upon local business we should have failed years ago. We were forced to extend our markets and to seek for export trade. This latter made the seaboard cities a necessary place of business, and we soon discovered that manufacturing for export could be more economically carried on at the seaboard, hence refineries at Brooklyn, at Bayonne, at Philadelphia, and necessary corporations in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

"We soon discovered as the business grew that the primary method of transporting oil in barrels could not last. The package often cost more than the contents, and the forests of the country were not sufficient to supply the necessary material for an extended length of time. Hence we devoted attention to other methods of transportation, adopted the pipe-line system, and found capital for pipe line construction equal to the necessities of the business.

"To operate pipe-lines required franchises from the States in which they were located, and consequently corporations in those States, just as railroads running through different States are forced to operate under separate State charters. To perfect the pipe-line system of transportation required in the neighborhood of \$50,000,000 of capital. This could not be obtained or maintained without industrial combination. The entire oil business is dependent upon this pipe-line system. Without it every well would be shut down and every foreign market would be closed to us.

"The pipe-line system required other improvements, such as tank cars upon railways, and finally the tank steamer. Capital had to be furnished for them and corporations created to own and operate them.

"Every step taken was necessary in the business if it was to be properly developed, and only through such successive steps and by such an industrial combination is America to-day enabled to utilize the bounty which its

land pours forth, and to furnish the world with the best and cheapest light ever known, receiving in return therefor from foreign lands nearly \$50,000,000 per year. I have given a picture rather than a detail of the growth of one industrial combination. It is a pioneer, and its work has been of incalculable value."

Looking aside from the financial side of trusts—the determination of prices and wages—which needs a separate treatment, one cannot but acknowledge the natural development of the successive steps of this monopoly. No better way could be invented by which the natural resources may be made available for the world's need. The lesson of the trust, how to secure the greatest satisfaction for the least expenditure of human energy, is too good to be lost.

With monopoly, as this word is at present used, is meant control unified enough to hold competitors in check, as evidenced by the power to put prices higher than former competitive rates, whilst still excluding nearly all competitors. This power to get higher rates of profit depends generally upon its ability to put goods on the market without loss at lower rates, if need be, than can its rivals.

For political purposes a discrimination has been made between the combination of capital owned by many people and the large capital by which one man could control a whole trade. It is absurd to make this discrimination except to coin party capital. The effects of monopoly by one person are exactly the same as those of the monopoly owned by many in combination. It matters nothing to the public whether the meat industry is controlled by one firm or a set of bondholders. The working men under this firm are certainly not any better off. The means by which John M. Wanamaker has succeeded to build up a business that overtowers all his competitors are in their nature no different from those of any trust. The tentacles of the "octopus," whether they gather in the small oil refiner into the maw of the oil trust, or the small country dealer into the maw of Montgomery Ward (which is a single firm), are just as efficient. The best example of the efficiency of a large capital to gain

monopolistic control without the aid of the legal form of trust formation is shown in the case of Andrew Carnegie, whose establishments are a larger and stronger element in the iron and steel industry than those of any of the monster "trusts."

The same methods are used; the power of big capital to produce cheaper, to eliminate waste in distribution and to undersell the competitor, and when in power control prices is the same. It matters not to the working class whether the "dishonest trust" pays to the Republican campaign fund or the "honest corporation" pays into the Democratic. The nature of both is the same.

It is natural that the transition from the competitive to the monopolistic system wherever accomplished could not take place without a great outcry from the inferior competitors, and that an appeal would be made to the sympathies of society at large. Some forty sugar refineries were in existence in the whole United States before the formation of a sugar trust in 1887. From three to five millions of dollars are required to build and run satisfactorily a sugar refinery. Competition among the refiners became so fierce that some eighteen of the forty had gone into bankruptcy before combination into the trust, which abated for a time the fury of the contest. In 1880 there were 1,943 plants with a combined capital of \$62,000,000 manufacturing agricultural implements. In 1890 there were but 910 plants, while the capital invested had more than doubled. The number of plants engaged in the manufacture of leather decreased in the same period from 5,424 to 1,596, while the capital invested increased from \$67,000,000 to 81,000,000. The growth of the department store in our great cities has had a revolutionary effect upon the small dealers, and the mail order houses are in the same manner invading the country.

It is but natural that a squeezed pig should squeal. The shopkeeper and the manufacturer coming out of the bankruptcy court would endeavor to enlist public sympathy, but the march of progress cannot be stopped because the unfit are eliminated. The industries are becoming still more consolidated, and the gates of eco-

conomic opportunity are one by one closed to the middle class. The great laboring class opens its ranks and tries to give the newcomer a place.

The great tendency of our whole industrial history has been, as shown, in the direction of organization and the minute division of labor. By this double process industry has attained its present perfection. Great industrial undertakings have been located where the natural advantages have been most favorable. Factories have gravitated to the centers whence the great railroad and waterways could most easily distribute the products. Plants have been constructed with the most modern appliances. Machinery is run to its fullest capacity. Careful intelligence in regard to the conditions of the markets is collected to determine accurately the output. No waste or unnecessary reduplication is allowed. All this would be impossible under a system of limited production and free competition. Competition must necessarily mean confusion and destruction.

To what extent the natural development of the economic forces have perfected this industrial organization, the following illustrations will show: "The Federal Steel Company is a combination of several companies. It owns the Minnesota Iron Company with iron ore property, also the Duluth & Iron Range R. R. Co., which connects its mines with Lake Superior at two points. It owns ore docks and also 22 steel lake vessels that can carry a large proportion of its product each year. It bought all the stock of the Lorain Steel Company, which manufactures chiefly steel rails for street railways; it bought all the stock of the Johnson Company, which is engaged chiefly in manufacturing frog switches and crossings for street railroads, as well as electric motors. Another company, all the stock of which it purchased, is the Illinois Steel Company, with several plants, which produced pig, iron, steel rails, steel billets, steel plates, etc. This company is also the owner of the stock of the Chicago, Lake Shore & Eastern Ry. which connects its plants in the neighborhood of Chicago and also gives to these plants an outlet to the general market over all the railroads in the country. It also owns large

tracts of coal property on which it manufactures coke used in its plants."*

Through this combination the company controls the raw material in the mine, the coal used, the transportation facilities both on land and water, with docks, and the plants where the raw material is turned into the finished products.

The American Tin Plate Company, the National Steel Plate Company, and the American Steel Hoop Company, although legally independent, are to a considerable extent controlled by the same men acting as large stockholders and as directors.

No better illustration can be had of a perfect industrial organization than the combination of companies forming the Standard Oil Trust. It controls over 80 per cent of the oil refined in the United States, its output in 1898 being 23,914,938 barrels to the competitors' 3,914,999. The value of its export of petroleum products to Europe was \$1,126,401,021 of the total value of \$1,246,846,381. Besides this Rockefeller has taken possession of the electric light and gas plants in New York City and other places. He is fast coming into control of the iron industry. He already owns the Lake Superior mines and the Lake transportation service. He is about to control the copper mines of the United States. He is heavily interested in the great passenger ships of the International Navigation Company. He also controls the most important banks and trust companies in New York and other cities, with an estimated capital of \$22,900,000, surplus \$44,023,734; and loans, \$342,775,000; deposits, \$432,092,200; government deposits, \$21,641,100.

Not only have trusts become national, but as in the case of the Standard Oil, they are growing into international organizations. This fact makes the proposition to remove the trust, by removing the tariff, ridiculous. At present there exists an international thread combination. Already many of the American trusts have extended into British territory, covering Canada; as, for instance, the American Tobacco Company, the Inter-

*See "The Trust Problem," by Jeremiah W. Jenks.

national Drug Company and others, and several still larger international trusts are in the process of formation.

CHAPTER IV.

Trusts—Capitalistic

**CAPITALISM IS DESPOTISM IN INDUSTRY. SOCIALISM IS
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.**

We have in the previous chapters seen the marvelous development of the mechanism of production. The industrial system has been completely organized and all its details perfected. Still with the evidence before him, no fair-minded man can say that the modern laborer with his small and uncertain wage is much better off than his predecessors were fifty or one hundred years ago. Why is it that while the necessities and comforts of life have increased in abundance, the conditions of the working class have not had a corresponding improvement? The answer to this question is found in the twofold nature of the capitalistic system. The right understanding of this twofold nature of the capitalistic system will explain to us all the incongruities of our social and economic structure and give us the key to the attitude of existing political parties. One function of the trust as the highest exponent of the industrial system, is as we have already seen, to produce at the lowest cost. The other function, which we will analyze in this chapter, is to keep as much as possible of this cheapened production for the capitalist owner. The first function of capitalism is the industrial function; the second, the financial or pecuniary, or to use a more expressive word, the function of exploitation. The first function is a useful and praiseworthy one, and experience has shown us that a trust has developed this function to its highest degree. In all our economic thinking we ought never to overlook the fact that competitive industry has developed into monopolistic industry simply because the latter was able to produce cheaper, and, if need be, sell at lower prices than the former. We may hear people rail against the

trusts and combinations because they reduce the number of jobs, but that should not close our eyes to their important function of organizing the means of production to their most efficient form. Let us rather distinguish between the various functions of the capitalistic system to see which of them are useful and necessary to the whole society and which of them are only the means by which one class can take advantage of another and exploit it. Whatever faults there are in trusts they are faults that are inherent in the whole capitalistic system. It is impossible to kill off the trusts and retain the capitalistic system of production, as the democratic party seems to advocate. Why this proposition is true will appear in the following discussion.

The financial or exploiting function of a trust as the creature of capitalism is twofold. First, the endeavor to raise prices in order to exploit the whole consuming public. Second, the endeavor to reduce to a minimum the laborer's share in the product.

I.

TRUST PRICES.

As to the first point let us take a few examples from the largest trust. In 1887 the sugar trust was formed. The difference between the price of raw sugar and granulated sugar, in which margin the profits are contained, was immediately raised more than half a cent, and at times even fully one cent a pound. These prices are wholesale prices in the New York market. For the additions of the retailer the trust is not responsible. During the two years 1888-9 when one takes into account the lessened cost to manufacture that came from the organization of this combination, one may fairly judge that the trust made enormous profits.

The margin fell again in 1890 to 1892, during the Spreckles' competition. From 1892 to 1898 the high margin returned with a slight gradual lessening, owing no doubt to the fear of giving an opportunity to new capital to enter the field. In the latter part of 1898 the Arbuckle Bros. and others made a vigorous competition

and the margin between raw and refined sugar fell from 75 cents and \$1 per 100 pounds, as it had been during previous years, to a little above 50 cents per 100 pounds.

The price of oil has shown a gradual decline since Rockefeller took charge of the whole oil production, with the exception of those places where competition needed to be crushed. In 1898 the price of crude and refined oil began to rise, due partly to increased cost of production, but partly also to the 30 per cent dividends that these companies have been able to pay.


From the study of the prices of the whisky trust it would seem that the combination has been able to hold prices and profits high only for short periods. In their attempts to overreach and secure too high profits new capital again brought competitors and great fluctuations in price followed. According to the testimony of the President of the Distilling Company of America, the combination has finally adopted the policy of comparatively low profits, but invariably secure ones. Whether this policy will be carried out or not remains to be seen. A generalization in regard to the trust prices is very hazardous to attempt, because their recent appearance gives too few results as basis of deduction, and the policy of the trust has not yet had time to settle. If one may be attempted it would be that trusts, although in their first stages eager to reap all the rewards their position gives them, will be forced by their economic situation to reply upon the profits that saving and advantages of large capital gives them. Moderate profits on large sales will in the long run be found more desirable than larger profits followed by periods of competition and industrial warfare. It must, however, be borne in mind that the prices in competitive industries by no means show a continual downward tendency, but that, as shall be shown in tables in Chap. VII., all prices of manufactured articles whether controlled by trusts or not have lately shown an upward tendency. To quote Mr. Altgeld in a speech before the National Anti-Trust Conference: "The statistics show that almost every manufactured article used by the American people has during the last two years been arbitrarily marked up

from 20 per cent to upward of 100 per cent. This is the natural result of monopoly." Why this general rise of prices in industries not controlled by trusts is the result of monopoly, is difficult to understand. The corner grocer who is by competition forced to use the most desperate means to live, will take the same advantage of his customer as any rapacious trust. The fluctuations in prices existed long before the trusts were known and must be accounted for from other reasons.

II.

EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKER.

The second point in the financial function of the trust is common to the whole capitalistic system. This function is to deprive the laborer of his share of the product. The captains of industry have undertaken not only to guide the productive processes in order to provide the best and most economical satisfaction of human wants, but also to guide as large a share as possible of the rewards of this production into the pockets of the capitalist class. This it is able to do through its ownership of the means of production. The share of the worker's returns is not determined by the value of the product, but by cost of labor. The capitalist buys labor at a price that is determined by the cost of subsistence. The difference between this labor cost and the price of the output, belongs to the capitalist in the form of profit, rent, interest, or whatever high-sounding name may be given to it. Today this difference is appalling. We are not going to enter upon some refined system of ethics to determine the justice or injustice of this system. We would only ask why it is that while human ingenuity and invention have made the production of everything that satisfies human needs so abundant, the laboring classes must live on the plainest foods, wear the cheapest shoddy, dwell in crowded and unhealthy homes, enjoy the cheapest pleasures, be debarred from all higher education, and always have a Damocles' sword suspended over their heads from the fear of losing the opportunity to earn even that? Why



is it thus, while the capitalist class and the classes that derive their support from that class revel in all the comforts and luxuries that make our "civilization" so resplendent? Why is it that the working class that constituted in 1890 fifty-five per cent of the population, had only 4.21 per cent of the wealth? Why is it that the agricultural class numbering 29.93 per cent of the population had 15.33 per cent, while the other classes constituting 25.7 per cent with the foreign investors included, had 80.46 per cent of the wealth? Why is it that while the percentage of the wealth that flows into capitalistic coffers is continually increasing, that women and children take the places of men among the laboring ranks, on account of their cheaper labor?

Let us ask another question, the answer to which may perhaps formulate itself in figures. What is the effect of this evergrowing surplus in the hands of a small class upon society as a whole? Has it any influence upon its institutions? Can we trace it in its political and social life? Can any industrial and economic structure remain well balanced while all the wealth gravitates to one side and all the people to another?

The first result of this unequal distribution of wealth is the disturbance of equilibrium of production and consumption. In order that the cycle of production shall be renewed, it is necessary that what is produced shall find customers who are able to purchase. In order that healthy equilibrium shall exist between supply and demand, there must be an amount of saved capital to restore the wear and tear of existing equipment of industry, to provide new equipment for the increase of population and to afford a fund for investment of really profitable new devices for saving labor and increasing production. If more capital than is necessary to keep the machinery of production going is "saved" and invested in new business, the supply of goods exceeds the amount purchased by those able to buy, and overproduction and commercial convulsion follow. This is what the capitalists are doing. The wealth that results from labor flows into two channels. One part goes to the laborers to fit them for further production. The other part goes to the capitalist class and is again

turned into two channels. The first part of the capitalist wealth is consumed in satisfying their highly developed wants. What the laborers lack in comfort is here found in luxury. The other part of the capitalist's share, that which remains after his own living expenses are paid, must be invested in other capitalistic undertakings by which still more wealth may be produced. As the capitalistic system develops the surplus capital rolling in on the capitalist's hands becomes a difficult thing to handle. With incomes counted by the millions, the question how to invest these becomes serious. A floating capital is created that demands investment. Experience has shown that when surplus capital accumulates rapidly, the groping after new uses for it causes waste and disaster. A crisis comes to sweep away part of this overproduction. Sometimes war is a welcome agent to destroy the existing wealth that the capitalist may produce more—all at the expense of the people.

The investment of this surplus capital still remains a serious thing. The principle constituency of our home market consists of the laboring classes. Their purchasing power is narrowly limited by the capitalist employer. After the home market has been thoroughly exploited and goods sold to everyone that is possibly able to buy, the capitalist must look to foreign markets to find customers for the wealth on his hands. The civilized world is carefully canvassed and swift steamships dispatched. But here the same conditions meet the investor. Other capitalists as eager as he are pushing to sell their wares. Therefore the "heathens" must be *made* to buy. Suddenly a necessity for colonies is discovered. Spheres of influence over weaker nations must be secured. This interest in the affairs of other nations disguised under whatever phrases it may be, is only the necessity of the capitalist to find an outlet for the wealth that is rapidly accumulating on his hands.

Thus we see how our economic system enters politics. Our sympathy with struggling Cuba and Puerto Rico, and our fraternal interest in the poor Filipinos is excited by our concern for the capitalist's surplus wealth. Our indignation over the atrocities in China will be soothed by the chance of forcing the yellow man

to carry the white man's burden of surplus wealth. Meanwhile our own laborer is anxiously figuring how to make an income of \$400 to \$500 meet the necessities of his family.

But the surplus wealth of the capitalist forces him not only into politics but also into the law. He first creates laws to secure his supremacy over his laborers. This is a comparatively easy thing and excites very little comment. But when he touches his relation to other capitalists, "society" is growing interested. Since the beginning of the 80's a great outcry has been raised against the trusts, and all kinds of legislation has been proposed to regulate and even to exterminate them. A political party has even, in lack of other issues, taken up this cry, in order to catch voters. What does this agitation mean to the working class? Is it anything that is going to benefit them, or is it only a struggle by the small capitalist to prohibit the larger from swallowing him? If it is only a struggle for the spoils by the various capitalists and not an attempt to increase the share of the laborer, the working class has little to do with it. A \$500,000 capitalist is just as great an exploiter as a \$10,000,000 one, and often meaner. What the laboring man has to do is to get rid of all exploiters, not to help one capitalist in his struggle to exploit another, or to avoid being exploited by another.

There are three points around which the present agitation against trusts center. First, a demand for publicity of accounts. Second, security to stockholders. Third, discrimination of railroad rates.

The first is aimed to compel the officers of a corporation to give public and accurate accounts of the state of its business and earning capacity that prospective buyers of stock may know what they are getting. As laborers have no money for such investment, this does not affect him. The second is an invocation of the power of the courts to prohibit the officers and directors of a corporation from speculating with the property of the corporation, that they in the resulting fluctuations of stock may enrich themselves. For the same reason the laboring man is not interested in this. The third, namely discriminating railroad rates is an evil which

corrects itself: The large corporations control their own railroads. The only remedy for this discrimination, National and Municipal control of the means of transportation, would not remove the advantage that the large corporation has that can locate its plants at the various railroad centers, and distribute its products from the nearest point. This advantage would, under National ownership of railroads, just as inevitably lead to monopoly.

Twenty-seven states and territories have passed laws intended to destroy such industrial combinations as now exist and to prevent the formation of others. Fifteen states have similar provisions in their constitutions. Besides this we have a Federal anti-trust law, the Sherman Act of 1890, and certain provisions of the Inter-State Commerce law of 1887. A study of these statutes and of the decisions of our Courts of Last Resort which has been made under them, will show that they have had practically no effect as regards the trend of our industrial development. Even Altgeld, a high democratic authority, admits the futility of such legislation: "We are told on all sides that we must have legislation; that the government must act. Some say, let the State act. Others say, the Federal government must act. Still others say, let both act. With charming impartiality the trusts play one against the other. When the Federal government is invoked, they cry, this is a State matter. Strange as it may seem they then insist on State's rights. But when a State does act, then they find some convenient Federal judge who holds the act unconstitutional. This is the uniform history. Nearly every State in the Union has acted, but all State efforts have been futile."

There is only one way by which trusts may be destroyed and the value of their economies be retained. Let the people who have been instrumental in their upbuilding own them. "Through the specialized means of production and distribution we have the gradual development that has changed our methods of carrying on an industry from the individualistic method, when everything was done by hand, to first, partnership of two or more, then the corporation, then the combination of corporations or the trust, owning, controlling and managing under one head enormous branches of the

commerce and industry of the world. All the saving that has been effected by this development has been made possible by the elimination of useless toil. This saving is a social product; it is not the result of individual effort; being a social product, it belongs to society, and the crime of which the trust owners and makers are guilty is the crime of appropriating the product of the labor of others to their own use in order to accomplish individual success."

Governor Andrew E. Lee, of S. Dakota, said before the Anti-Trust Conference: "We do not oppose the trust, for trusts save time and toil. That ought to be the chief purpose of industrial progress. There is no sense in wasting wealth or human life and energy. Life is hard enough and short enough in its best and highest development. We object to the trust because there are too few in it. We should find no fault with a trust which included all men and showered its blessings upon everybody as it now surfeits a constantly diminishing number of people. What is the remedy? We cannot hope to successfully 'control' capital, because capital, in private hands, will control us. It is bound to be supreme, as it now is, under any system which admits its existence in that form. There can be no gain in tormenting it; and to try to 'regulate' by legal restrictions simply countenances its evils under conditions which would not wipe out the system's wrongs. It is the fundamental wrong of the system, not its surface aspect, which makes it imperative to do something more than compromise with the people's oppressors. Licensing monopoly would be like licensing train robbery. You would not get rid of the robber, nor secure relief from his continued plundering; you would simply recognize the robber system and admit your inability to conquer him. You cannot get rid of him by refusing to recognize him in social intercourse. He has created a society for himself into which you cannot get, unless you are as prosperous a robber as himself, and he looks down upon you from the pinnacle of the 'Four Hundred' and visits his scorn upon you while he buys your public servants and despises your laws. He fears nothing but an attack upon the system by which he

maintains his tyranny over the people. If you would reach him, you must exterminate the whole system of robbery. When that is done, he must go to work or become a social exile. We may legislate against private monopoly till doomsday, but so long as we do not deprive these institutions of their ownership of the means of production and distribution, we need entertain no hope that they will cease to torment us, for experience has shown that they thrive under hostile legislation. The remedy will be found in an attack upon the system of which these monopolies are the fruit. Revolutionize the control of production and distribution. Make it democratic. It is now an imperial system. Substitute public for private ownership. Throw off private for public monopoly. Crush the rule of money and establish the rule of men. Do not destroy the machines nor blot out the details for swift and perfect handling of commodities, but make things for people to use, not to fight over, and maybe die later for want of. Produce and distribute wealth for the enrichment of the race; for the gratification of needs and the satisfaction of worthy aspirations. Such a policy can be squared with the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule. Such a policy will destroy public and private rascality and give birth to a new social life of which the people are capable when they are delivered from the dread of starvation and death."

Mr. Bryan says: "Let the people control the trust, or the trust controls the people." It is just this "controlling" that politicians are hankering after. Corporate industry is a source of wealth. In "controlling" the source the politicians have an inexhaustible bag in which to put their hands. The republican politicians are satisfied to bleed a few deeply. The democratic politicians, being of a smaller stamp, want to dribble many. Both are anxious that capitalism, the source of ill-gotten wealth, shall remain forever.

The working class, suffering deeply by the exploitation of the many by the few, will one day say, let the people own the capital, as the capitalist hitherto has owned the people.

CHAPTER V.

The Farmer To-Day and His Children To-Morrow

In a book primarily dedicated to the working class, explanation of a chapter with this heading may be thought necessary. The farmer is often considered as a member of the capitalist class, but we urge that not only is the farmer becoming less and less a holder of capital, but that where he is, in the outward seeming a capitalist, he is actually in the same position as a workman. He has permanent employment but is made dependent by the manipulation of the price list in the hands of those above him, just as a worker in the factory is enslaved by lack of the opportunity to work.

The farming element in this country has for a long time enjoyed unique privileges. Writers have doffed their hats and made compliments to the "backbone of the country." The farmer was the backbone of the country; being strongest in numbers he could control legislation; being in possession of a large proportion of the country's wealth he could enjoy independence; being without rivals in other countries or in his own he could enjoy, as a class, more or less of a monopoly; and being in a new country he was able to gain the advantage of its progress by rise in the value of his land. With all these advantages the farmer was indeed the backbone of the country. In his pride he was wont to think that on the free farming class the country must always, in the last resort, depend. True it is that in America we must depend on the farm for our food, just as they must in other countries. But if the collecting of wealth in the hands of a few is the main object of civilization, why cannot we be fed by a debased and enslaved peasantry, as is the case in the older coun-

tries? The wealthy will live just as well, and, indeed, being wealthier—better.

The power of the agricultural class has been due in a large degree to its proportionate numerical strength. This strength grows less with each year.

The urban population of the United States has increased from something over 29 per cent in 1890 to 31.60 per cent in 1900. The census returns for the entire country are not yet complete, but an illustration of the rural exodus is shown from the returns already published for New Hampshire. In this state, while the total population has increased faster than during any other decade in its history there has been an actual decrease in the rural districts, some of the smaller towns being almost depopulated.

The "independent farmer" has owed much of his independence to the fact that he controlled a large share of the nation's wealth. He has a less per cent each year.

	1850.	1860.	1870.
Wealth of farmers..	\$3,966,000	\$7,980,000	\$11,123,000
Wealth of U. S.....	7,135,000	16,159,000	30,068,000
Per cent.....	55	43	36
		1880.	1890.
Wealth of Farmers.....		\$12,103,000	\$15,981,000
Wealth of United States.....		43,642,000	65,037,000
Per cent.....		27	24

There was a time when, in addition to the return from his labor, the farmer was able to appropriate a portion of the whole social wealth through the rise in land values. But with the decrease in ownership of farms comes a movement which deprives the remaining owners of this source of revenue. Mr. Edward F. Adams, in his book on the modern farmer, says in speaking of this fact: "The more land a man owed for the faster he was assumed to be getting rich. Whenever an entire community becomes imbued with a speculative disposition of this kind, and results regularly continued for generations seem to just-

ify anticipations, nothing will cure it except an absolute demonstration continued through many years, of the final bursting of the bubble. Such a demonstration began with a panic in 1893, and will continue until rural communities thoroughly learn that never again in this country is it likely to be safe to incur debt in the expectation of paying any portion of it from the 'rise in land.' Agricultural land is now as high in the United States as it ever will or can be until the cheap lands of other continents are settled and the population of the earth so increased as to require its entire surface for its support. A great portion of the indebtedness of the farming class is of this speculative character, and of such indebtedness a great part can never be paid. The early settlers in a new country, who endure the privations incident to settlement, and build the roads, schoolhouses, churches and other public improvements, are entitled to the natural increase in the value of their holdings which results from such improvements, but in most of those sections of our country which are still sparsely settled, all this ultimate value is assumed by holders to have accrued, and land is held at prices full as high as it can ever reach within the lifetime of men now living, and in many cases at higher prices. And yet it is a fact that a great deal of the indebtedness of farmers has been incurred for land at such exorbitant prices that the debts can never be paid off from the products of the soil."

A previous chapter has mentioned the effect of the disappearance of free land as narrowing the opportunity of the workingman. The same fact reacts upon the farmer. The best blood of the farms, and indeed all the surplus population, has for years been poured into the city. We have seen how the army of the unemployed camps in every municipality, and how the industrial (commercial) concentration has made two applicants for each position. In "The Modern Farmer" Mr. Adams says on page 92, in speaking of the "illusion" that a chance for the country boy exists in the city says: "It is the duty of the farmer to impress his children with the truth that the day when such things are possible to the ordinary boy is forever gone in this country. Ninety-nine out of every

hundred who hereafter may try this route to success will fail. Every avenue to employment in American cities is now choked as completely as it has been for centuries in Europe. In every mercantile or manufacturing establishment those already employed are constantly on the watch for every opening in behalf of their own dependents and friends. There are twenty applicants for every place. It is also an age of specialization. The boy wanted now, when any is wanted, is not one who is willing to do anything, but one who knows how to do something. The farmer's duty, therefore, is to train his children to be either farmers or something else. Some trade or profession they must have, or they will be terribly handicapped in the race of life. City boys themselves understand this. Country boys do not realize it."

It would seem that the chances of getting employment as a farm laborer were growing less:

1880. 1890. Decrease.

Number of agricultural la-

borers 3,323,876 3,004,061 319,815

The farmer's position is not, then, what it was. What of the farmer of to-morrow? What does the future hold for the children of those who at present still own their farms, and if not as prosperous as formerly, still are not in want? Some answer may be made to this query by a study of the general tendency of the present system in regard to prices of farm products.

Calendar Year.	Average Annual Wholesale Prices in New York City Markets.									Relative Combined av. of the Nine Products in		
	Wheat per Bush.	Rye per Bush.	Oats per Bush.	Corn per Bush.	Upland Cotton per lb.	Refining Sugar per lb.	Kentucky Leaf Tobacco per lb.	Fresh Beef per 100 lbs.	Fresh Pork per 100 lbs.	Currency.	Gold.	Silver.
1850-59...	1.568	.912	.479	.764	.109	.082	.082	5.365	5.552	101.8	101.8	99.0
1860-69...	1.901	1.098	.652	.991	.439	.112	.145	7.634	7.675	184.4	180.6	126.3
1870-79...	1.428	.882	.511	.604	.156	.083	.108	6.543	6.096	109.0	98.9	103.3
1880-89...	1.050	.736	.407	.575	.108	.063	.092	5.840	5.628	89.1	89.1	109.3
1890-94...	.867	.697	.369	.547	.086	.039	.095	5.368	5.336	80.9	80.9	124.7

The results may be seen in the growing number of the completely dispossessed farmers (tenant farmers) and of the partly dispossessed farmers (farmers with mortgaged farms). According to the Extra Bulletin 1898, 34 per cent of the farmers were tenant farmers, 19 per cent owned mortgaged farms, and less than half entirely own their land. The mortgages averaged a third the value of the farms on which they were placed. In the abstract of the Eleventh Census, page 97, it is shown that while farms cultivated by their owners increased only 9.56 per cent, farms rented increased 41.04 per cent and farms rented for share of the product increased 19.65 per cent.

If this dispossession of the farmer continues in the future as it has in the past, not many years will be required to reduce the great majority of the American farmers to the position of tenants. Already this is being accomplished in some of the Eastern states. At the present rate only a few years will be required to reduce our farmers to the same economic status as that of the peasants of Europe.

As transportation facilities increase the farmer must compete with larger and larger markets and become more and more dependent upon the means of transportation. The farmer, besides becoming more and more the slave of the owners of the railway, the commission men, the elevators, etc., is compelled more and more to compete with the cheap labor of other countries.

The independent position of the farmer does not secure him from a contact with the trusts. He is surrounded by them on every side. He first sees their effect upon the public whom he expected to purchase his products. When the farmer is ready to sell the fruits of his farm and secure the things that he can use, he is told that so much has been produced that his products cannot be sold. But the same paper that brings him news of the "overproduction" tells him also of men, women and children suffering and dying by thousands in the slums of the great cities for lack of the very things that are rotting on his fields. It is here, then, that the farmer is made to suffer from the condition of the class, that by its numbers as consumers of foodstuffs, is of the greatest importance to him.

It must very deeply touch the farmer's self-interest if the laboring classes in urban communities are kept in a situation where they cannot afford to buy his products. The farmers and laboring classes are closely united, the one as producers and the other as consumers of foodstuffs. Let our capitalistic system reduce the laborers purchasing power to a minimum and the farmer will also suffer.

But there is another side of capitalism, from the effects of which the farmer has often suffered but which he has not yet understood. The production of a commodity consists in taking some portion of nature's products and changing it into a form desired by man, and then taking it to some place where it can be used, at a time when it is wanted. These three conditions—form, place and time—are necessary to any form of production and no article has a value or price until it has gone through all these processes. The farmer may own the land, grow his wheat and raise his stock, but while these are still on the farm they are not at a place or time where they can be used or are wanted; hence, they are not yet "produced." When the farmer tries to finish the process of production and add these two essential qualities, time and place, he finds that the instruments for this—the railroads, telegraphs, elevators, stockyards, etc.—belong to some one else who appropriates all that the farmer has produced save the same share that the laborer has always received—a bare living. So well has this fact become recognized that it is a common thing to say that "there is no money in farming" and that "all the farmer gets is wages."

In this respect the farmer is placed in the same position as the wage-laborer. The latter cannot use his capital—labor power—to produce goods, until the capitalist allows him to use the capitalist's means of production. The farmer cannot bring the results of his capital—farm and labor power combined—to a complete product, unless he has the permission from the capitalist to use the capitalist's means of transportation, storage, etc. In both cases the capitalist holds the laborer and farmer at his mercy and extorts the tribute that is satisfactory to himself.

On another side also is the farmer hemmed in by the

capitalist. The old "A" drag that in earlier days bounded from stump to stone, and occasionally made a short scratch in the ground, has given way to a whole list of "spring-tooths, disks, pluverizers, sod-cutters, steel smoothing harrows," etc., each of which is adapted to some special work and all of which must be used by the farmer who would profitably produce crops at present prices. The scythe, pitchfork and handrake that made up the outfit of the haymakers of but a few decades ago, have now given place to the six-foot mower, sulky tedder and hayrake, with the mechanical loader and horsefork. The same change is seen everywhere. The windmill has replaced the "old oaken bucket" and the great steam thresher, with automatic feeder and "blow stacker" does in an hour the work that once kept the flail sounding upon the barn floor through almost the whole winter. Entirely new and expensive machinery appears, and the farmer who would feed his cornstalks and root crops or pumpkins with economy must own an ensilage cutter and steam cooker.

With the development and improvement of farm machinery, it, too, becomes a means to the farmer's enslavement. With the machinery as with the land, it was more profitable and involved less risk to allow the farmer to retain a nominal ownership, and then under the disguise of credit, pluck him to the last cent with exorbitant prices, usurious interest and excessive "repair bills." Many and many a farmer has thus become as completely enslaved to his self-binder or sulky plow as any city worker to the great factory in which he toils.

Still other changes bring the farm into closer connection with the factory system. Many things that were once a part of farming are now great capitalist industries. The creamery and the cheese factory are the first of these that occur to the mind, and the beet sugar is an example of an almost new industry that has been grafted upon farming and that is but a portion of the great factory system.

The canning of fruits and vegetables and the slaughtering and packing of meat are even more important examples of this tendency. Before the advent of these

newer industries, numerous branches of agriculture, such as the production of cotton and flax were dependent on the manufacturers of the products from these raw materials for their patronage. Now as we have shown elsewhere, and as is universally observed, all branches of manufacture have a tendency to concentrate and nearly all have already reached an advanced stage of centralization. Therefore large classes of agriculturists will soon have large combinations or monopolies for their only patrons and every agriculturist will be more or less dependent upon the patronage of these enormous capitalistic enterprises.

The farm products connected with these industries are absorbed by the owners of the plants, and the farmer who grows the beets, cotton, fruits, vegetables or live stock receives simply wages for his share of the labor performed upon the finished product, and not infrequently these wages are even lower than those paid the employees within the walls of the plant itself. Here, at least, there can be no doubt but that the interests of the wage-worker and the farmer are the same.

In his fight against this power of capitalism the farmer is as yet helpless. He patiently suffers the ills that afflict him.

To quote from Prof. C. S. Walker, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College: "The farmer trades provisions and raw material for manufactures and for money. The manufacturers and the money which are the stock in trade of the city, are commodities which are easily controlled by their owners, who, readily combining among themselves, can sell or hoard very much as they please; they sell when they choose to sell, and succeed to a greater or less extent in fixing their prices. The provisions and raw material, on the other hand, which are the stock in trade of the country, are commodities which the farmers are compelled to throw upon the market all at once in the fall of the year, and sell at any price the city chooses to pay. The farmer must sell; he cannot help himself. The cotton and tobacco of the Southern farmers are already mortgaged, and the money-lender takes the crop as a matter of course. If there should be a few who have not

mortgaged the crop, they are nevertheless in debt, and these debts must be paid. The Western farmer cannot keep his wheat, corn and oats, his poultry, beef and pork. He has no facilities for storage. As a consequence, every fall thousands of millions of dollars worth of agricultural produce is thrown upon the market, enough to supply all home demand and leave a surplus of the value of \$500,000,000 for export. The American farmer, then, North, South, East and West, is forced year after year to sell to the city his products when the market is glutted and prices are lowest. He sells at the greatest disadvantage. This, of course, leads us to infer that, when he buys, he buys at a great disadvantage. The farmer must have money to pay his taxes and his interest in the fall, but that is the very time when money, being a commodity in great demand, is very scarce and very high. With his produce forced down to the lowest price, he is forced to buy money that is up to the very highest price. Again in the spring the farmer is forced to buy seed and fertilizers, and agricultural implements and labor; he has no money with which to pay for them, although then money is cheap. He pays for them with his note or gets trusted for them. Under such circumstances the seller has the advantage and the farmer is forced to pay the highest price for all he gets. So it has come to pass that year after year, spring time and autumn, the farmer sells cheap and buys dear, and buys dear and sells cheap.

"The manufacturing and the trading classes (the capitalists) have, as a rule, concentrated in the city. Their interests have for the most part been in common. They have easily combined; they have acquired the wealth of the nation; they have the press in their hands; they control the school, the college and the church; they are dominant in the caucus, the political convention, the state and the national legislatures. When their interests come in conflict with that of the farmers it requires little thought to discern which has of late years prevailed. One might speak of a rapid increase of tenant farmers. Of the numbers of alien landlords, already counting the thousands of acres; of the vast tracts of land voted to railroad and other corporations; of the multiplication of mortgages;

of the growth of the debtor class among agriculturists; of the condition of the black farmers of the South; of the importation of European peasants to take the abandoned farms of New England; but it is hardly necessary. The fact is already too manifest that the American farmer at the close of the 19th century, after 100 years of Republican government, is directly confronted with the question whether or not he shall, like the tillers of the soil in the old world, degenerate from his honorable station to the condition of the serf."

Remedies have been proposed by which the farmer may raise himself from these conditions. He has been advised to use more intelligent methods in the cultivation of his land. Mr. G. T. Powell, of Columbia County, N. Y., in a report on the promotion of agriculture, advises the farmers to use better methods in the cultivation of their land; greater care in selecting live stock, etc. He instances cases where the presence of agricultural schools, experiment stations, etc., or even lectures on agriculture, have changed the outlook of whole communities, turning failure into success. But does this go to the root of the evil? As long as a few farmers improve their methods, more than the average, these few will gain success by having an advantage over their competitors; but if all the farmers, or even a majority of them, adopted these methods, the result would be a greater production at cheaper cost; and so prices would simply go down or the farmer would be left financially no better off than before.

The effect of all these forces upon the size of the farm is difficult to state. There are many farmers who believe that dishonest legislation and dishonest officeholders by iniquitous laws, or iniquitous violations of just laws have allowed great railroad corporations, foreign syndicates, favorite capitalists, to buy up at a song, or to get free under abuse of the Homestead Law large tracts of the best land, for which they have often paid nothing, and on them to create bonanza farms worked with machinery. Here producing on a large scale, and with no mortgages to meet, they are able to raise and sell grain at prices with which ordinary farmers cannot compete. Railroads, too, and grain speculators in New York

and Chicago, the farmers claim, create corners in the market and compel the farmers to sell to them at almost a loss.

This concentration of farming is made easier through the introduction of large and labor-saving machinery.

Notwithstanding these undoubted advantages experience in many parts of the country seems to decide in favor of the small farm. Why is this? Is the small farmer ever better off than the large farmer?

Political economists have been puzzled because of the tenacity with which the small farmer holds on in a community in which the large capitalist everywhere enjoys an advantage. None deny the superiority of machinery and other economies enjoyed only by those with the capital to afford them. In parts of the country where these economies can be applied the large farmer with a capital of, say \$20,000, has a natural advantage. But any man with a capital like this has an expectation of some profit in this country, though perhaps a small one. He will not leave such a capital invested where it does not bring in some return. On the other hand, the small farmer makes little or no profit on his capital and considers himself lucky if he produces a surplus of \$250 or \$300 after deducting for next year's expenses.* This is the equivalent to the city workman's income after deducting for food, and represents the wages earned by the farmer by his work, being a similar amount to that which he would have to pay to another for the same work that he has done himself. But the small farmer with a capital of \$2,000 to \$4,000 can find no paying business open to a man with that amount. In most lines of manufacturing a very large capital is required, and in trade, Bradstreet shows that the chance of success for such a capital is infinitesimal. If the farmer invests in a mortgage loan at 6 per cent his return will be \$120 to \$240, and he will have to hire himself out as a farm laborer or learn a new trade to make a living. He knows enough about the former occupation to give it a wide berth, and the latter is impossible to an old man and exceedingly difficult and

*See Wisconsin Reports.

costly even to a young one, and if he does enter another occupation he is only lost in the hardships of the great ocean of wage-laborers, being not even sure of anything like steady employment. The small farmer, as a sensible, hard-headed man, refuses the alternative and gives up the hope of making anything like a commercial rate of profit on his investment. As the large farmer is not forced by a lack of alternatives to give up profits on his capital and may even live on a 6 per cent loan, which would give him \$1,200 income on a \$20,000 capital, he would prefer to leave farming rather than give up his profits. As he must compete with the small farmer this is what he is often forced to do, notwithstanding the advantages given him by a large capital, through the use of which he may purchase the best machinery and make every needed improvement on his farm.

This does not show the prosperity of the small farmer, but the reverse. To sum up it shows two things:

1. The small farmer is unable to do anything else but farm.
2. He is receiving the income of a wage-worker. The small may in this way compete the large farm out of business. But the small farmer is in no way as well off as the richer large farmer.

Being conscious of this oppression the farmers have attempted various ways of resistance, as is indicated by such movements as the Granger's movement, the Farmer's Alliance, etc. But organization among farmers has, from the nature of their scattered position, been difficult. Nor have they been intelligently directed. The root of the evil in the farmer's position is that he does not receive the full value of his labor. As long as railroads, elevator companies, commission men, etc., hem in the farmer and surround him by a wall that entirely excludes him from the general market, he must share the price of his product with them. All of these agencies are, by the means of their capital, closely organized with a perfect understanding how to take as large a share as possible from the returns of the farmer's labor. In this the farmer suffers equally with the laborer.

All these circumstances have worked together to make

the farmer but a portion of the great laboring class, receiving the same return as the factory wage-slave—a subsistence. Both laborer and farmer are in this condition because a possessing class stands between them and the means of production and distribution. Neither can secure relief until both shall join hands at the ballot box to secure a common ownership of these means by those who must use them. Only by socialism can the problem of the farm as well as of the factory be solved.

CHAPTER VI.

Labor's Demands and Capitalism's Answers

Labor legislation in the United States is mainly conspicuous by its absence. We are even worse off in this respect than "monarchical Europe." While England has hundreds of regulations protecting the workers in factories, the great manufacturing State of Illinois has three. Where England has many efficient provisions protecting the lives and health of the worker in the "dangerous trades," such as match-making, white lead works, chemical works, potteries, etc., there is only one such provision in any State of the Union, the law adopted by several States relating to emery wheels.

As we have shown, there were in the United States in 1890 thirty-four million wage-earners. Yet the last Congress contained not a single workman. Workmen are almost unknown in our State legislatures. They have filled no important administrative offices and their presence among the judiciary is impossible under the present system. This is the reason the working class is scorned or ignored when it comes to our legislatures, administrations or courts for relief of the untold abuses under which it labors. Only in the brief period before the elections is it flattered and cajoled by the capitalist parties.

How have our Congresses answered the demands of labor? Either by inadequate and ineffective laws or by silent contempt. In many cases laws have been allowed to pass with the certainty that the courts would declare them in violation of the "sacred freedom of contract." In others the laws, when passed, have been ignored by both democratic and republican administrations. Every trade-union can multiply instances of this kind, and it is useless and impossible to draw up a list of the unenforced and "unconstitutional" laws.

But what is the record of Congress? The eight-hour's law, passed in 1868, was riddled with holes by the courts and administration until it became more a name than a reality. Yet notwithstanding continuous agitation by the unions, no Congress since that time has remedied its defects. Many elections placed the democrats in power in Congress, but they did no more than the republicans. In 1900 the bill offered by the Federation of Labor was again defeated in the Senate.*

The democrats pretended to favor the anti-injunction bill, yet that bill was so radical and effective in its character that they submitted to its being killed without a protest. When these same lawyers and propertied gentlemen came to financial or taxation bills that touched their own pockets they occupied the floors of both houses for weeks and months and filled whole volumes of the Congressional Record with their oratory and protests. Their democratic brothers in the Massachusetts legislature were in a worse predicament and voted against the anti-injunction bill. This was unnecessary in Congress, as the bill was quietly disposed of without coming to a vote.

The most important measures advocated by the American Federation of Labor are:†

1. A legal workday of not more than 8 hours.
2. The repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting seamen and other workmen, incorporated in the Federal and State laws of the United States.
3. Abolition of the contract system on all public works.
4. Abolition of the sweating system.
5. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and homes.
6. Liability of employer for injury to life, body and health.
7. Abolition of child-labor.
8. Compulsory education.
9. Nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railways and mines.

*See *Am. Federationist*, 1900, p. 270.

†See *Convention Reports* and the *Federationist*.

10. Abolition of the monopoly system of land-holding and substitution therefor of the title of occupancy only.

Now let us see what has happened to these demands. Remember, they have been urged for years by the unions as being the most important of all questions to the working class.

I.—LIMITATION OF THE LEGAL HOLIDAY.

In 1868 Congress, as has been said, passed a law limiting the hours of labor of government employees to eight a day. The law was nullified by courts and administration. In 1900 Congress defeated a new eight-hour law for government work. Several states have passed eight-hour laws for all trades. They have been declared unconstitutional and were never supposed to be anything else by the legislatures that passed them. In no state of the Union is there any law limiting the hours of men's work. They may be forced by their employers' greed and their own necessities to work 24 hours out of 24 if they are physically capable of doing so. No restriction is placed on night work if the manufacturer sees fit to demand it. "Sacred freedom of contract" demands that the law shall not step in between the destitute worker and his millionaire employer. There must be no interference in the bargain between these "equals" before the law.

Several states have passed laws forbidding more than eight hours work on government contracts,* but none have been claimed to be effective until the present New York Law. And in this case when the laborers struck to secure its enforcement the militia were called out to force them back to work in violation of the law's provisions. The other manufacturing states are without any such laws.

In threestates the hours of street railway men have been limited to ten, in four others to 12 hours per day. But, of course, even these laws are not enforced and loopholes have been discovered in them.

Of the 45 states only 12 limit the hours of women. In several this law has been declared unconstitutional—

*Cal., Col., Id., Kan., Mass., N. Y., W. Va.

among them, Illinois, the third state of the Union. In others, the legislatures have refused to enact such a statute. Where the hours are limited it is in nearly every case to 10 hours a day—which is already the average number for all employees in the country and manifestly too long for women. The unions say an eight-hour day is in most trades imperative for men—and of course it is all the more so to the health of women and the happiness of the home. Yet our most enlightened legislatures are satisfied to leave their hours at 10.

Only 19 states out of 45 put any limit whatever on the hours of labor of children. Of these all but three allow 10 hours' labor. Under the head of Women and Children the nature of the work these children do has been shown. Yet the legislatures say that 10 hours a day is not too much for our child-workers who are wearing out their health and even lives in factory, workshop and mine.

II.—THE REPEAL OF ALL CONSPIRACY AND PENAL LAWS AFFECTING SEAMEN AND OTHER WORKMEN, INCORPORATED IN THE STATE AND FEDERAL LAWS.

President Gompers says of the recent Seaman's Rights Bill that is only "a partial reversal of a policy that has existed in our country since 1793, namely, that of treating the seamen as serfs." Even this partial reversal is only secured after years of effort with democratic and republican Congresses.*

The federal anti-injunction bill was buried in Congress, another one defeated in Massachusetts by democratic votes, as has been mentioned.

The republican Congress† and most of the democratic legislatures have passed anti-trust acts. Every one of these acts is also an anti-union act. Also the Interstate Commerce act has the same effect. President Gompers says in his last address to the American Federation of Labor:‡

"The Interstate Commerce Law, enacted with the avowed purpose of protecting the people from discrimina-

*See Am. Federationist, 1900, p. 217.

†See Am. Federationist, 1900, p. 199.

‡See pp. 18 and 15, 19th A. F. of L. Conv.

tion at the hands of transportation companies, has been utilized for no other purpose than to imprison union men employed in transportation service. The so-called Sherman Anti-trust Law, ostensibly enacted to protect the people from unlawful combinations of capital, has simply resulted in the arrest and indictment of union workmen, because, in their effort to protect their common interests, their action has been construed to be in restraint of trade. These two laws have been cunningly devised by your antagonists (foolishly acquiesced in by men believing themselves reformers), and have proven then to be the incubators of our modern injunction, trial without jury, and imprisonment. We have seen those who knew little of statecraft, and less of economics, urge the adoption of laws to 'regulate' inter-state commerce, and laws to 'prevent' combinations and trusts; and we have also seen that these measures, when enacted, have been the very instruments to deprive labor of the benefit of organized effort, while at the same time they have simply proved incentives to more subtly and surely lubricate the wheels of capital's combination."

III.—ABOLITION OF THE CONTRACT SYSTEM ON ALL PUBLIC WORKS.

In no state has this been accomplished and only in the fewest instances have any steps been taken in this direction.

IV.—ABOLITION OF THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

Far from being abolished, this system is growing by leaps and bounds in every state where it has obtained a foothold. In Chicago* alone the number of the shops nearly doubled in five years (1894 to 1899) and the number of employees increased over 75 per cent. Similar results have been shown in the other states. Though the evils exists in at least 15 states, only nine have taken any steps to check its growth, and of these but four have enacted the license law. The other laws have been acknowledged worthless by the inspectors themselves.†

*See State Factory Inspector's Report, Illinois, 1899.

†See Ill. Report, 1900.

It is of this system the Report of the Factory Inspectors of Illinois, 1899, says:

"No more serious problem has developed in recent years in connection with what is called the labor question than that relating to the manufacture of clothing in tenement houses. It would be lamentable if these white slaves were contented with their lot. Such conditions must not exist in our community, and the willingness to submit to filthy and unwholesome sanitary surroundings, in order to get the bare means of existence, affords no excuse for those who are endeavoring to maintain the sweating system among us. The people who toil 12 and 14 hours in the sweatshops, for less than the means of comfortable subsistence, and, in addition, are compelled to employ the labor of their children to avoid starvation, are being robbed of their rights as human beings. The sweating system—and everything akin to it and resulting from it—must be suppressed in the interest of humanity."

V.—SANITARY INSPECTION OF FACTORY, HOME AND MINE.

Most of the mining states have complex mining laws and considerable sums are spent in mine inspection and mine reports, but the facts brought out by the strike of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania have shown how little they amount to in any way. Company stores have been forbidden by law repeatedly but nothing has ever been put on the statute books that prevents their operation. Provisions have been made to check the companies weighing of the coal but they have proved ineffective. The measures taken to prevent accidents have had little effect and the year 1899 produced the largest number of fatal accidents in the Illinois mines yet reported, with the exception of a single large disaster.*

The sanitation of the home has been left to the tender mercies of the municipal authorities until the legislation we have had on that subject is recognized by all to be a farce. Democratic New York and Chicago and republican Philadelphia are in an equally disgraceful condition.

*See III. Coal Rep., 1899.

Some of the facts are brought out in our chapter on *How The Working Class Lives*. The facts are so notorious that no farther treatment is needed.†

The inspection of the factory is a larger and less understood subject. Factory buildings should not be put up in a way to endanger the lives or health of the employees. Yet only five states out of the 45 have any regulations on the subject. Only nine states have any requirements as to ventilation. Out of the 45 only 10 provide for closets or dressing rooms. Only seven require any degree of cleanliness in the factories. Just five states concern themselves with the lighting and heating arrangements of the buildings where the vast bulk of their population (excepting farmers) is at work. The dust from emery wheels will inevitably kill in the course of time, yet only seven states require the simple device that will carry the dust away.

The following grades reported as "Dangerous Trades" in the Parliamentary Report of 1899, are totally without special legislation in the United States:*

India Rubber Works.

Paper Steaming, Coloring and Enameling.

Basig Slag Work.

Glass Polishing.

File Cutting.

Bronzing, etc., in Lithographic Works.

Dyeing.

Chemical Works.

Manufacture of Lead and Colors.

Pottery.

Manufacturing of Matches.

Enameling and Tinning.

Flax Mills and Linen Factories.

Many of these trades are normally accompanied by loathsome and fatal diseases. In lead poisoning one symptom is the dropping out of the teeth. This is also a common result in chemical works. Phosphorous poi-

†See the U. S. Labor Bulletin on the Slums of Our Great Cities and the reports of the New York and Chicago Tenement Committees. The report of the latter will be published in a few months.

*See Final Report of Departmental Committee on Dangerous Trades, 1899.

soning produces the most horrible results. The same trades are present in this country, the same processes used and the same awful results follow.

But besides the dangers of germ diseases from bad sanitation and the risks due to poisonous gases and dust, every factory, every railroad and every mine has its long lists of killed, maimed and injured. The dangers from machinery are not generally such as cannot be prevented by proper precautions. There are devices adapted to nearly every machine which will either lessen or prevent altogether accidents from that source. This has been proved by the English reports, which show a decided decrease in all accidents since these devices have been introduced by law. But such things cost money and hinder the speed of work. Consequently they are lacking almost entirely in this country except where adopted by law. In only 12 states are any such precautions required by law in the factories. As a result the loss of life and limb is appalling.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York showed in one year (1899) nearly 1,000 killed outright and over 40,000 injured. In the war with Spain, 280 American soldiers were killed. In 1890, 18 per cent of our industrial population was in New York State. If the same rate of death and casualty rules in the other states, then in the United States there were in one year (1899) 5,555 workers killed outright in industrial accidents and 250,000 injured. The New York report adds: "Few workmen carry accident insurance of any kind. . . . In many cases the injured man and his family are dependent on public charity for their means of living during the period of disability."

As to railway employees the United States Interstate Commerce Commission report for 1899 says: "Of railway employees 2,210 were killed and 34,923 were injured during the year covered by this report." While more than 36,000 out of 227,000 were killed or injured by the railways, only 1,640 were killed or wounded in the Philippines out of an army of 63,000—16 casualties in each 100 men on the railroads, and a somewhat smaller rate among the soldiers.

In ten years (1889-1898) the railways of America have killed 21,510 of their employees and wounded 267,075. If we allow the imagination to draw upon the suffering this loss of life, limb and means of support has caused to the railway workers of America and their families we see a sum of human misery the like of which the world has seldom seen—and this at the very end of the “glorious civilization” of the nineteenth century.

The following is a detailed list of the accidents. Remember, the automatic coupling law which would have saved thousands of these lives, only went into effect last year, after this table was prepared:

ACCIDENTS TO RAILROAD EMPLOYEES.

Year.	Killed.	Injured.
1898	1,958	31,761
1897	1,693	27,667
1896	1,861	29,969
1895	1,811	25,696
1894	1,823	23,422
1893	2,727	31,729
1892	2,554	28,267
1891	2,660	26,140
1890	2,451	22,396
1889	1,972	20,028
	<hr/> 21,510	<hr/> 267,075

The rate of casualties in the mines is also startling. The Illinois Coal Report for 1899 shows among 37,000 miners, 84 killed outright and 597 injured, with an average loss of 42 days. The number of miners in the United States in 1890 was 350,000. If there are 400,000 in 1900 and this ratio of accidents is maintained, there would be in one year 905 miners killed outright, and 6,464 injured.

These same reports also show that these rates of casualties are practically being maintained.

**VI.—LIABILITY OF EMPLOYER FOR INJURY TO
LIFE, BODY AND HEALTH.**

Our law as to employer's liability is a disgrace to civilization. Even if the law were what it should be the worker's chance before the capitalist courts would not be much, as is shown in another chapter. But as it is the law forbids any recovery of damages when the accident is partially due to a fellow-servant, i. e., another employee of the company. As the employer himself is usually absent this law covers a large part of all cases of accident. A very few states have amended the law but the amendments have proved inadequate. The New York Labor Report recognizing this fact, shows that Germany, Austria, England, France, Norway, Denmark, Italy and Switzerland, give the workingman injured at his work, a stipulated compensation without recourse to the law-courts. The Report says: "The underlying principle of these workingmen's compensation acts is the demonstrated fact that most accidents are an incident of the industry, rather than the fault of individuals. . . . A vast number of accidents is positively inevitable under the pressure of competition." The Report does not suggest the removal of this pressure. Is it to be concluded that the working people of America have been converted to the principle that such enforced payments to them for the loss of life or limb are interferences with the right of the employer "to do what he pleases with his own property," or that the workers are so small a factor before our Congresses and the legislatures, that their demands are met with smooth words but real contempt?

VII.—ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR.

Less than half of our states have set any limit whatever on the age at which children may be employed in the factories. Several of these put the limit at the ridiculous age of 10 years. Six states allow children of 12 to work in the workshops and factories, and eight states have set the limit at 14 years. Even in these latter cases the law often fails to cover mercantile and other establishments. The other states have no laws

on the subject. Among the democratic states of the South children are almost entirely unprotected. In the great cotton manufacturing states of the South children under 13 years of age are to-day working from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock at night.

But this is not the worst of it, for none of the laws are effective. The State Factory Reports of several states acknowledge that a very large proportion are employed under the legal age, some estimating that 20 per cent of the children found at work were under the required age. Some states have recognized by general enactments that the health of children should be protected and that they should not be employed in occupations unusually dangerous. But only in a single instance* has the dangerous trade been designated by law and in the others the law is a dead letter. There is no subject on which the American tradition is more clear than on the work and education of children. Our institutions, thinkers, and leaders have all taught the duty of the nation to the child. But no tradition is strong enough to resist the demands of capitalism for cheap labor, and the state of our legislation on this subject shows not only the present weakness of the working class, but the shaky ground on which the best of American institutions rest.

VIII.—COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

The only way any education can be guaranteed to the working class is through efficient compulsory education laws. The United States Report on Labor Legislation says that several of the leading states require only three months of school work in the school year from children of school age. This age is generally defined as under 14 or 15 years, though in some cases even less than that. This is enough to show that our legislators have virtually abandoned the idea of any universal education worthy of the name. That our popular education is steadily deteriorating is shown in another chapter, as is also the ineffectiveness of those laws we have.

*The N. Y. law with reference to emery-wheels.

**IX.—THE NATIONALIZATION OF MINES, TELEGRAPHS,
TELEPHONES AND RAILROADS.**

Although this movement was endorsed by large bodies of farmers representing perhaps 2,000,000 votes, as well as by the American Federation of Labor with a similar vote behind it, the capitalist parties have both ignored it, not only in Congress, but even in their platforms. It seems that the support of the corporations at present exploiting these businesses is even more valuable to the capitalist parties than the popularity the verbal endorsement of this measure would give them with so many voters. At any rate they have shelved the issue.

**X.—ABOLITION OF THE MONOPOLY SYSTEM OF LAND-
HOLDING AND SUBSTITUTION THEREFOR OF
THE TITLE OF OCCUPANCY ONLY.**

This measure no section of the capitalist or middle classes seem to have taken seriously, though it is urged continuously by the Federation and its constituent unions.

How do the capitalist parties dare face the laborer with a record like this and ask him for his vote? Ignorance is the only answer—ignorance fostered by false government reports, schools that teach nothing about the labor movement and a press that directly or indirectly deceives the laborer on every public issue. The only party that includes all these demands in its platform and has always done all in its power to put them into execution is the workmen's own party, the party of Socialism.

[The laws of the states referred to in this chapter have been obtained from the Report of the U. S. Department of Labor on Labor Laws, from the Labor Bulletins of that department, and from the annual report of the New York Library Association on the legislation of the United States for 1890.]

CHAPTER VII.

Wages and Living Expenses

The laborer in the capitalistic system is between two mill-stones. The capitalist may either decrease his wages, or charge him more for what he buys. It is a matter of complete indifference to the capitalist whether he exploits labor on the one side or the other. Usually the rise in prices long precedes the rise in wages. The gratification of receiving an increase in wages will often blind the laborer to the fact that this increase is more than nullified by the increased cost of living. By granting an increase in wages the capitalist demands the gratitude of the laborer, oblivious of, or rather hiding the fact that he has already taken back with one hand what he has granted with the other. When the laborer complains that he is no better off than he was before, he is sermonized about his continual discontent and depraved nature. Just now he is told about his great prosperity and his rapidly improving conditions. In what this great prosperity consists the following analysis of wages and living expenses will show:

INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

From the Seventh Annual Report, United States Department of Labor, p. 864, the following budget for a family with an income between \$400 and \$600 is estimated. The families whose living expenses were ascertained numbered 2,562, so that the estimate may be considered accurate:

Food	44 per cent.
Rent	15 per cent.
Clothing	15 per cent.
Fuel and light	7 per cent.
Miscellaneous expenses	19 per cent.

Total 100 per cent.
Of the last item 2.5 per cent is reckoned for furniture.

In Bulletin No. 55, United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experimental Stations, the results are given from an investigation of the various kinds of foods that enter into the consumption of laboring families. The following foods entered into the diet: Meat, fish, eggs, cheese, milk, butter, cereals, potatoes, vegetables, sugar. These families were living in a typical Chicago laboring center. They belonged to various nationalities and by giving the relative importance to the nationalities as given in the school census, this table is the result:

	Per ct.
Meats, 33.4 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	14.70
Cereals, 16.5 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	7.26
Vegetables, 10.8 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	4.75
Milk, 9.3 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	4.09
Eggs, 7.8 per cent., or on a basis of 44.....	3.43
Butter, 6.1 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	2.68
Sugar, 5.7 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	2.50
Potatoes, 4.2 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	1.85
Cheese, 3.3 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	1.44
Fish, 2.9 per cent, or on a basis of 44.....	1.20
100 per cent.	44.

Then 25 typical articles included under the heads of food, clothing, fuel and furniture, constituting in all 76.5 per cent of the total budget were selected and their wholesale prices from January 1, 1897, to July 1, 1900, tabulated. By weighting these prices by index-numbers indicating their relative importance in the budget, the exact increase in the cost of living is ascertained. This increase was found as follows:

From 1897-98	increase 6.56 per ct.
From 1897-99	increase 10.24 per ct.
From 1897-July, 1900.....	increase 10.66 per ct.

Thus an increase of 10.66 per cent in prices of articles that constitute 76.5 per cent of a laboring family's total expenses has taken place from 1897.

From the inspection of rent books of large real estate firms in Chicago it was found that rents of work-

ingmen's dwellings were unchanging until the spring of 1900, when they were uniformly raised \$1.00 per month. If the workingmen were paying an average rent of \$7.00, this rise would mean an additional increase of 2.15 per cent. This is equivalent to a reduction of 12.81 per cent in wages.

INCREASE OF WAGES.

Our question now is, "Have money wages increased as fast as living expenses?" That money wages have not kept step with the increased cost of living is apparent even to a casual observer. "Prosperity" newspapers have been filled with accounts of increased money wages, but these have never applied to more than a small proportion of the total wage-earners of the United States. Whole classes, such as the common laborers, have been given little or no attention. The incidences given by the papers have been those of the highest skilled and best organized laborers, where the increase has been largest. Yet even in these cases the rise in the last three years has in the fewest instances been as much as 12.81 per cent, that is in most of the instances given by the capitalist press there has been an *actual fall of real wages*.

To give actual statistics of the increase or decrease of money wages is impossible. A few indications may, however, be given. In the U. S. Labor Bulletin of July 1900, the wages of a large number of selected establishments in 38 different trades are given. These embrace principally skilled workmen and can be taken as typical only for the manufacturing industries and building trades. They give the day wages only, not the average yearly earnings. They show that in 27 trades an increase of the rate of money wages had taken place between 1891 and 1900. In eight there was a decrease and in three no change. The period of 1895-1900 shows a similar result. The average percentage of increase being 6.8 per cent during this period. (This does not mean an average rise for each man of 6.8 per cent. To know what the average increase was for each man we would have to

know what was the number of men working at each occupation.)

Even if one takes the rosiest view of the situation it is impossible to ignore the fact that the cost of living has risen much faster than money wages leaving a net result of lower real wages in 1900 than in the years preceding.

The report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for Ohio for 1898 says: "The average daily wages during 150 days worked was \$1.27. The average yearly wages amounted to \$192 as against \$221.56 in 1896."

Another way to view wages is to consider the total annual earnings today compared with the purchasing power of today. Prof. Mayo Smith, in his work "Statistics and Economics," shows that in 1890 an income of \$520 was necessary to sustain the average working class family, unless such important articles as beef and milk were dropped from the diet. The range of prices as shown by our table is not much different now from what it was then.

The above statistics of money wages show that at the present time few men are able to give this necessary support to their families. An additional instance is that of the anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania.

Chas. B. Spahr, in the Outlook of Sept. 29th, shows on the basis of the state reports that the annual net earnings of the miners is \$285. Even with the aid of the wages of breaker boy or silk mill girl this would not be enough to support a family according to Prof. Smith's standard.

The miners of Illinois have been getting \$406.98 per year, according to the state report. With deductions of days unemployed this would amount to about \$232, the amount claimed by the Miners' Union. In North Carolina the wages of skilled men were in 1899 \$1.27 per day and for unskilled men 64 cents.*

But even the rise in money wages has come to a standstill. The tin-plate trust has refused any real increase to its employees. The Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers will obtain a decreased rate of pay, per unit of work done under their new scale. The Illinois

*12th ann. labor report for North Carolina.

Steel Co. has even given notice of an additional reduction on January the first. The Deering Harvesting Machine Co., of Chicago, employing over 8,000 persons, has lately ordered an all around decrease in wages estimated in the newspapers at from ten to fifty per cent.

That this is merely the beginning of a general movement throughout industry may be inferred on the evidence from the best commercial authorities as given at the end of the succeeding section.

In order to get anything whatever of the recent capitalist prosperity for themselves organized labor throughout the country has recognized the necessity of a large increase in money wages to correspond with the increased cost of living. Therefore we have seen in the first nine months of 1900 a series of strikes, more important in the aggregate than any year of our industrial history has previously shown. Organized capital has perhaps shown itself more doggedly hostile to the interest of labor than ever before. The building trades have seen the largest and most extensive strikes in their history. In Chicago at one time 30,000 were out according to the most conservative estimate, besides at least 10,000 men engaged in the manufacture of building material. At the end of seven months the strike was not yet terminated. In Kansas City 5,000 men were out. And not a city in the country has been without unusually large strikes in the building trades this year. The machinists have this year seen the largest strike in their history, not less than ten thousand men being out at one time. The cigar makers' strike, of New York, which has been in progress for several months, has involved over seven thousand people. The greatest street car strike the country has ever seen took place in St. Louis last summer, involving directly 4,000 men. The biggest miners' strike the world has ever known is now in progress in Pennsylvania, involving over 140,000 men. With the outrages perpetrated by the capitalists during these troubles, and their refusal to make concessions to the workmen we are not here concerned. But all this only goes to show that what little advance has been gained even in the way of money wages has been se-

cured only by the most desperate efforts on the part of the workers and the most determined resistance on the part of the capitalists.

In cases where a substantial rise has been secured even by these desperate methods only a small portion of the great working class have obtained even a rise in money wages, and the fewest possible numbers in actual wages. In those cases where organized labor has been successful the capitalist has often succeeded in making the working men pay more for their victory than that victory has brought them in return. The U. S. Labor Reports on strikes show that for many years this has been the result in the majority of cases.

But the vast majority of the workers of the United States are not organized. In 1890 there were 15,650,000 wage-earners in the United States, which number must have risen to at least 20,000,000. Of these it has never been claimed that more than two million are included in any labor organizations whatever. Of the others, President Gompers says, "Practically the only advantage which has come to unorganized labor from the industrial revival has been longer hours of daily labor with additional burdens to bear." This is also acknowledged in Baker's book, "Our New Prosperity," in which every attempt is made to prove that prosperity has reached all classes of the people.*

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Among the official declarations of the American Federation of Labor adopted at their last annual convention, we find the following: "Referring to the present industrial condition, it is a well known fact that industrial revivals alternate with industrial panics with more or less severity in cycles which come with remarkable certainty and regularity. It is noted, too, that as we progress, the periods of depression become more extended, and periods of revival of shorter duration. We therefore warn the wage-earners to be not latent in their energy, but to use all efforts in extending and pro-

*See President Gompers' address to the A. F. L. convention, 1899, and "Our New Prosperity," page 226.

tecting the organizations while this period of revival is on, in order that the suffering which will come with the inevitable coming panic may be of less severity." The courses of these panics have already been shown,* and it has been proved that they are not confined to the United States nor caused by national politics, but are the direct outcome of the capitalist system. Below will be found statements from a high commercial authority† attributing the late reaction and partial depression of last summer to overproduction, and the same authority and others equally reliable have repeatedly traced industrial depressions to the same source. Indeed, the fact is almost self-evident and is the basis of our demand for commercial expansion as stated by Senator Depew before the republican national convention. He says: "The surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. . . . This overproduction goes back to stagnation and poverty." The latest book on the subject, though not written by a socialist, admits overproduction as the most important cause of crises.‡ As there are many times as many unemployed at such periods as in "good times," we will consider the statistics of unemployment as follows:

1. The "prosperous" period of 1889-1892.
2. The depression of 1893-1897.
3. The "new prosperity."
4. The present "reaction."

1. The United States census shows that in the year of our prosperity, Eighteen Hundred and Ninety, 1,068,304 workers in the manufacturing and mechanical industries were unemployed during a portion of the year. This is 21 per cent of the total number employed in those industries. All these were unemployed for more than one month and almost half of them more than four months. These statistics are verified by the Massachusetts report of another year of "prosperity," 1885. In that year 29.6 per cent of all the persons engaged in

*See Chapter IV.

†Dun's Review.

‡Jones—Industrial Crisis,

gainful occupations in Massachusetts were unemployed. They were unemployed at their principal occupation on an average 4.11 months.

2. Coming now to hard times or the last period of overproduction and industrial depression, we find the following estimates:

(a) Mr. C. C. Closson, in the winter of 1893-4, addressed 300 circular letters to authorities in 38 leading cities.† In these he found 491,000 unemployed. Bradstreet's estimated 581,950 unemployed in the same cities that winter.

(b) About July 1st, 1893, the depression struck us in earnest. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1893 shows that in the establishments canvassed 15.5 per cent were unemployed. In 1890 5,091,000 persons were employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. If the above rate was maintained there were in the United States in these industries at least 763,000 unemployed. During the winter months, January, February and March the situation grew worse and continued in a very bad condition for several years. Even in 1897 and 1898 the returns from the trade-unions of New York* show the following results:

During entire quarter.	Total number Reporting.	Unem- ployed.	Per ct. Unemp'd.
1897	142,570	35,381	24.0
1898	179,955	18,102	10.0
On March 31st.			
1897	142,570	43,654	30.1
1898	179,955	38,857	16.6

The latter figures approximate the average number unemployed during the year. If the returns for 1897 represent the country the unemployment must have been greater than that shown by our previous figures for 1893. This would not show that unemployment was less in 1893, but rather that the amount of unemployment in Massachusetts at that time was not so great as that of other portions of our country and there-

†Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 8, 1893-94.

*See N. Y. Labor Bulletin No. 1.

fore calculation for 1893 is under the mark. All that those figures show is that unemployment can hardly have been less than 763,000 employed in the manufacturing industries alone in the last six months of 1893.

The New York returns also show that our "new prosperity" can hardly be said to have begun before January 1st, 1899, for in the previous quarter the New York unions had 46,000 members unemployed or 29 per cent of the total membership.

3. In the spring of 1899 "our new prosperity" was upon us in full force. As McKinley said: "Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic." No doubt Mr. McKinley, surrounded by his four leading advisers, Senators Hanna, Elkins, Fairbanks and Spooner, could see nothing but prosperity around him,* but we produce in this chapter a few facts that show the real condition of the wage-earners at this time. As to the numbers unemployed we find some interesting statistics from the republican states of New York and Massachusetts.

The New York Labor Bulletins give quarterly reports of unemployment among trade-unions on the last day of the four quarters of the years. These show the following:

	No. reporting.	No. unemployed.	Per cent. unemployed.
Dec. 31, 1898.....	167,543	46,125	29.0
Mar. 31, 1899.....	166,235	31,049	18.6
June 30, 1899.....	188,455	20,106	10.9
Sept. 30, 1899.....	205,933	4,788	2.3
Dec. 31, 1899.....	219,166	10,238	4.6
Mar. 31, 1900.....	226,263	22,895	10.1
June 30, 1900.....	239,500	22,491	9.4

By October 1st, 1898, all agreed that "prosperity" was arriving. We had brought the Spanish war to a "glorious" conclusion. Hundreds of millions of dol-

*According to the Washington correspondent of the republican Chicago Tribune these men were the constant advisers of the President at that time. He was seen constantly with them and not a day passed without a consultation with one or another of this "Big Four."

lars had been spent in our industries by the Federal government, and even the "calamity howlers" were silent. Yet during the 19 brief months of the height of prosperity the average proportion of unemployed among the best organized workers was over 12 per cent. That this was not due to seasonal idleness may be shown from an examination of the detailed figures for each trade. Or it may be seen from the fact that on two different quarters the proportion fell as low as 4.6 and 2.3 per cent respectively, which figures must have included the regular seasonal idleness. Even the strikes as shown in the New York report account for only a small part of this unemployment.

The only possible conclusion is that the capitalist system does not provide work for the workers even in its most prosperous years. Each period of comparatively busy industry employs more men than the preceding period of depression, but as we have shown, these periods do not originate in the United States or any one country. The republican party supposing that they are going to be given the credit of this improvement have issued tons of "prosperity" pamphlets, just as the democrats would do if they were now in power. In one of these,* the boast is made in large capitals that "whereas in 1896 there were 393,162 men employed in coal mining, in 1899 there were 410,635 so employed, an increase of 17,473." By the natural increase according to United States census the miners and their sons of working age would number 28,300 more in 1900 than in 1896. Therefore, this "barometer of prosperity" has failed to give enough employment to provide for the normal growth of the mining communities. More than 10,000 of its working members must either find employment elsewhere or live as parasites on the mining community. Coal mining is one of the latest industries where machinery has been introduced and this has produced the enormously increased output with a very small increase in the numbers of workmen. In 1896 the miners produced 191,986,357 tons; in 1899 they pro-

*Republican pamphlet on "Coal."

duced 258,539,650 tons. In 1896 the average miner produced 471 tons; in 1899 he produced 629 tons.

The same tendencies have long been found in our other industries and it has only been a rapidly increasing foreign market that has saved the capitalist system from an industrial depression that should never have an end; a fate we seem narrowly to have escaped lately, and one which is sure to arrive when the great nations of the world have no new foreign markets to exploit. There must be new markets, for the workers of the old markets when once organized on a capitalistic basis are unable to buy more, as is shown in this chapter.

IV. THE PRESENT "REACTION."

But we have beside the severe Industrial Crisis the lesser evil of "Industrial Reaction."

Dun's Review, on July 7th of this year, said that probably wage difficulties would not cause new embarrassments after that time because "the closing of works for want of orders shows their condition." This overproduction which first made itself felt last May, is referred to in the following terms by the same authority:

May 19: "Business is not what it was a year ago, but men do not agree in defining the difference. The working force, then increasing fast, is now decreasing. Works are stopping to relieve excessive output in manufactures of paper, cotton, wool, leather and some forms of steel, while prices are suddenly reduced for the same purpose in lead, wire and nails. What seems to some 'merely spring dullness,' others think 'the beginning of reaction.' The remedy for one difficulty does not fit the other, and there is more need than usual for close attention to the meaning of events."

June 2: "Orders for boots and shoes have been reduced much more than shipments, because many works had orders which are not yet exhausted. But new business is not enough to keep nearly the full force at work, and with many works closed and others working short time or force, the shipments in May have been smaller than in any other year since 1892. They were larger

by 17.4 per cent in 1896, by 22.8 per cent in 1895, and by 27.7 per cent last year."

June 23: "There will be time to work off excessive stocks in some lines, and to adjust prices to a new basis for the latter half of the year.

June 30: "The boot and shoe industry makes slow progress. Most local works have closed or are about to close."

July 7: "Had it been predicted that the vast iron industry would be thrown from unprecedented activity into great depression, with many works closed and prices reduced fully a quarter, without failures amounting in all to \$30,000, it would have been thought impossible. Yet the six failures in that department for the last quarter were in all for \$28,935, though Bessemer pig has fallen from \$25 to \$18, and plates from 3.1 to 1.5 cents, and the average for iron and steel products has declined just 25 per cent since June 10. Some further decline is now expected before things are adjusted for another active season, and efforts to arrange wages are progressing. The Thomas and Empire and some other large concerns have given notice of a reduction, while the tin plate and other large combinations have closed their works, waiting for a settlement.

Similar difficulties occur at this season in other industries, but with small prospect now of serious embarrassment, as the closing of works for want of orders shows their condition. The Fall River committee has decided to close their cotton mills for a time and some of the largest woolen works have been closed or much reduced in force. A large share of the boot and shoe force is inactive, and no change in prices has resulted since those of some weeks ago which, according to later accounts, were made by fewer of the manufacturers than was at the time believed."

July 21: "The closing of important mills was the more meritorious because it gave occasion at the end of a season, with an over-supply here, both of goods and material, to rest until Europeans have settled their affairs. Without formal agreement the woolen industry adopted in part the same course, many mills having

stopped or reduced force, so that experts believe that less than half the capacity is now at work, because the nature of the next season's demand does not yet appear."

Aug. 11: "Working forces are smaller and will soon be further reduced, probably for three weeks, by the closing down of cotton mills in New England, which has been delayed longer than expected."

Aug. 18: "In the boot and shoe industry the trade is suffering from accumulation of stocks that cannot be sold without a loss as compared with the price at which shoes could now be made. Idle shops throughout the East are a natural remedy."

Aug. 25: "Factories are still working only part time in the eastern boot and shoe districts, and it is evident that earlier estimates of accumulated stocks were much too small."

It was at a commercial banquet during the above period that Senator Wolcott said: "There isn't an idle mill in the country to-day." This again goes to prove that no dark facts can be glaring enough to be seen by an individual saturated with a feeling of his own prosperity. The editor of the Cleveland Citizen estimated from clippings taken from the capitalist papers, that there were 250,000 workers idle through shut-downs alone in a single week of last summer. There were 60,000 men thrown out in the iron and steel industry alone. According to every estimate 60,000 men were idle in that industry from July 1st to September 15th, and though there was a wage dispute, Dun's Review shows that it was of secondary importance to the existing overproduction, which had been shown before the wage difficulty arrived.

The Massachusetts Labor Bulletin for August, 1900, shows that in the establishments canvassed there was a decrease of the total number employed from 76,464 to 67,713, or 11.44 per cent, between April 14th and July 14th, 1900, and as we have shown, the greatest enforced idleness followed the latter date. If this same proportion holds true throughout the country, there were even at that early date, 684,000 idle workers in our manu-

facturing industry. At a later date there were certainly more idle than on July 14th.

That this condition was due to overproduction is also shown by the following facts: Dun's Review for August 17th, says of prices, "the reaction has followed in every large industry." Bank clearings have shown a large decrease during the same period. Towards the end of August many of the largest railroads showed less earnings than during the same weeks of the year before. In the month of August even our foreign trade decreased. Exports fell \$1,500,000 below the amount of August, 1899, and imports decreased about \$5,000,000. Every sign is now pointing to business on a more restricted scale.*

The conditions immediately preceding an election are commonly traced to political uncertainties. That history has proved the reverse we have shown elsewhere. Moreover during July and August nothing was more commented upon than the universal political apathy and the certainty that there would be no political changes. This was the time when the reaction was at its worst, but it still continues and is no more due to political causes in October than it was in July. The present industrial sufferings of the working people are due solely to the capitalist system.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The employment of women and children has increased enormously in the last, as in the previous decade. This means that the women are being taken away from our homes and the children from our schools. It means that grown-up men must compete more and more with women's and children's wages in many lines of work. Neither of these results of women's and children's work are disputed by the authorities who are therefore forced to disguise the facts themselves. This has been most crudely done by Carroll D. Wright in his labor reports and in his work in the United States census.†

In the early days of our industrial development the

*See another part of this chapter on Wage Reductions.

†See section on Government statistics.

bulk of the women were at home while those earning their living were occupied either as servants or as workers in industries otherwise related to home-work, as hand-sewing or laundry work. At a somewhat later period the textile factories absorbed a considerable number. These remained the only important occupations for women up to 1870. From 1870 to 1890 startling developments took place. Female servants became an increasing element in our population. The number of seamstresses and tailoresses was multiplied by three; at the same time these women were taken in great numbers from the home to the sweatshop. This was the period of the growth of the steam laundry where tuberculosis is bred and the working hours are only regulated by the work on hand—conditions which have been repeatedly exposed in our state factory reports. The laundresses numbered in 1890 215,000; enough to make a city larger than Louisville.

We had 170 women clerks in 1890 where we had one in 1870. The wages of all clerks have been brought down in the competition of these women, whose earnings in our large department stores are usually below \$5 per week.*

In shoes, tobacco, printing, shirts paper, rubber, hats and caps and corsets, 137,000 are employed, and the increase in these during the last 20 years varies from 250 to 650 per cent; and to a smaller extent women are entering as manual workers into hundreds of other industries. Many of these industries are most unsuited to them. No more unwholesome surroundings exist than in the Chicago stock yards where this year's factory report shows 1,500 women employed.

Moreover a large per cent of the women employed are married or widows. In 1890 the married women occupied numbered 515,000, and the widows 630,000. This is one of the ways in which the home is being undermined by our "industrial progress." When the wife is away the home is destroyed.

The figures on women Wright was unable to garble,

*See Free Employment Agency Rep., Chicago, Ill.

but with those on children he conveys a wholesale untruth.

The factory reports of the various states show that there were large numbers of children not reported by the census enumerators for the simple reason that the parents understated the number of children they had employed. In Pennsylvania 30,433 were found by the inspectors, while only 22,419 were found by the enumerators. Other reports show the same results.† For some unaccountable reason children were defined in 1880 as those under 16, in 1890 they were defined as those under 14½.

Wright's own figures are as follows: Number of children at work from 10 to 14½ years, 603,013.*

The Massachusetts factory inspectors report for 1890 shows that there were about 3 children employed there under 16 to one child under 14½. Applying this ratio to the whole United States we find that there were 3 × 603,013, or 1,809,039, or 21.61 per cent of the total number employed under 16 years of age. The table would then read:

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AT WORK AT THE
THREE CENSUS YEARS, 1870, 1880 AND 1890.

Census years and classification of ages.	Total.
1880.	
Total children 10 to 15 years, inclusive.....	5,604,369
Number of above at work	739,164
Percentage of above at work.....	13.19
1880.	
Total children 10 to 15 years, inclusive.....	6,649,483
Number of above at work.....	1,118,356
Percentage of above at work.....	16.82
1890.	
Total children 10 to 16 years, inclusive.....	8,322,363
Number of above at work 10 to 16 years....	1,809,039
Percentage of above at work.....	21.62

Of course there is no way of counting in the children omitted by the enumerators, as has been shown above.

†See H. L. Bliss, *Journal of Sociology*, 1897, p. 366.

*See U. S. Labor Report on the employment of women and children.

The above statements of Wright are quoted from the summary of the Labor Report of 1896 and are contradicted in the body of the same report. In his summary Wright goes back to the census of 1896 and ignores the results of his own report, which were as follows for 931 establishments examined:

Increase of number of employees between 1885 and 1895:

Males over 18.....	63.1
Females over 18.....	66.3
Males under 18.....	80.6
Females under 18.....	89.1

This shows that the employment of females is increasing at the present time more rapidly than that of males, and that the employment of children and young persons is increasing immensely faster than that of adults.*

The greatest number of children are employed in agriculture and domestic labor. In 1890 there were 327,000 in the former, and 90,000 in the latter, occupation under the age of 14½ (Bulletin of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, p. 422). These children should obviously be in school. But besides these there are many occupations in which the health, mind and morals of the children are injured. The Illinois factory inspectors reports show some of these conditions. The Illinois reports are so interesting that we quote them at some length.† “In the great tin can factory at Maywood, through all the heat of last summer little boys worked among unguarded shafting and belting in the fumes of the soldering room, or crouched on a shelf in every crooked and unwholesome posture, poking sharp edged circles of tin through the holes of the shelf; or were seated at the stamp and die machines, where every fall of the stamp is a menace to the fingers and hands.”

“Some children at the Stockyards are boys who cut up the animals as soon as the hide is removed, little butchers working directly in the slaughterhouse, at the most revolting part of the labor performed in the Stockyards.

*See section on Government Statistics.

†Second Annual Report of the Factory Inspectors of Illinois.

These children stand ankle deep in water used for flooding the floor for the purpose of carrying off blood and refuse into the drains; they breathe air so sickening that a man not accustomed to it can stay in the place but a few moments; and their work is the most brutalizing that can be devised. Other boys cut bones with a buzz saw placed within 50 feet of the drying racks where skulls and horns are scorching over a flame, and the smell of the smoking bones and rags of hide excels in horror all the smells for which the Stockyards are notorious. Here in a dark, foul passage, young boys work at a machine of the most dangerous character, an unguarded buzz saw. No criminal in the United States could be punished by an hour's imprisonment in such a place without a horrified protest ringing through the land. But these young victims are kept here by their employers day after day and no voice is raised in their behalf. Nor is there any excuse for the existence of such surroundings. With the facilities for ventilation and deodorizing that are readily available, this passageway could be made inoffensive. Meanwhile the employment of any human being in such a place is an outrage and should be summarily stopped, but the law confers upon the inspectors no power to stop it.

"Another indication of the insufficiency of the law is the presence of 721 children in sweat shops in 1894. Many of the boys in these shops are button holers and every little button holer is destined sooner or later to develop a lateral curvature of the spine. Other boys run foot power machines and the doom that awaits these is consumption of the lungs or intestines. Many of the little girls are "hand" girls whose backs grow crooked over hemming, felling and sewing on buttons. The rest of the girls run foot power machines and incur both tuberculosis, which they share with the machine boys, and also pelvic disorders ruinous to themselves at present and to their children in the future.

"Of the 135 children who, during the year, were given medical examination, 72 were found sufficiently normal to be allowed to continue work. Of the 63 refused certificates 53 were not allowed to work at all, and were stopped working at unwholesome trades, as tobacco

stripping, grinding in cutlery factory, running machines by foot power and crimping cans.

"In several cases different diseases existed in the same child. There were 14 children with spinal curvature, 12 with heart murmur, 6 with lung trouble, 24 with enlarged glands, 25 with defective sight, 6 with defective hearing and 56 with defective teeth.

"The report of this department for 1894 showed that the 721 children found in the sweatshops of Chicago during that year were illiterate, while the majority of them could not speak English. In this respect there has been no improvement. That statement applies equally to the 1,307 children found at work in these shops in 1895."

From a special report concerning the children at work in the glass works, the following is garnered:*

"Other citizens tell me that the larger boys (from 12 to 16 years old) struck during the autumn against a cut in wages from 45 cents a day to 40 cents; all those who held out being blacklisted. The lads under 14 now receive but 40 cents per day. It is therefore clear that any dearth of available boys which the company may find inconvenient is caused by its refusal to pay wages acceptable to boys of legal working age.

The glass company and the entire press of Alton continually urge that the blowers must cease work unless furnished boys of less than legal age. In no case, however, has a blower made this statement. On the contrary, the men themselves told me that they would prefer to have the company furnish them boys of legal working age; but that the company was unwilling to employ boys old enough to insist upon more than 40 cents a day."

"The load of bottles which a boy carries at any one time is small, and he has no heavy lifting to do. The work is, therefore, described by President Smith as 'light and easy.'" This assertion can be accepted as true only by persons who have not seen the little boys at work.

Young children, with heads and hands bandaged, where they have received burns from melting glass or red-hot swinging rods, dodging in all directions to escape

*See Third Annual Report of the Factory Inspectors of Illinois.

the danger which each causes the other where their paths cross, while the blowers' long pipes swing over their heads, are not doing "light and easy" work. Loss of time from burns, and cost of clothing to replace burned coats and shoes (for fragments of cooling glass fall on the floor in all directions) were the burden of complaint of more than one poor mother, in telling us how hard her little boy found his life in the glass works.

While this conspicuous danger strikes the eye at once, the greater and more permanent injury to all the young children may be overlooked in a casual visit. The speed required and the heated atmosphere surrounding the fires, render the boys' continuous running most exhausting. An hour's steady trotting in the open air tires a healthy school-boy of 7 to 14 years; but these little lads trot hour after hour, day after day, month after month, in the heat and dust.

This strain must be borne by night as well as by day, for there is no legal limit to the hours which may be required of the boys, nor any restriction upon night work for them. Nor is there any discrimination in favor of employing the older boys at night. Children 7 and 8 years old work until 3 a. m., and then, scantily clad, go from their exhausting toil, running in the hot air beside the furnaces out over the ice, through the chill air of the early morning, to the tents and boats beside the frozen river.

All these conditions, taken together, render absurd the description of the boys' work for the glass company as "light and easy."

In all the families which we visited none of the children have ever gone to school.

"In laundries, the only limit to the hours of work of children seems to be the limit of their usefulness. It has been found that their little fingers become expert at "marking," and at this they are much employed, although they are also found at mangles and other dangerous machines used in steam laundries. Marking is one of the occupations which superficial observers class as "light and easy," but handling soiled clothing on its way to the washing machine is not fit work for any child. Apart

from the unfitness, there is great danger from infection; much greater in the case of young children exhausted by overwork in the heat and steam of the laundry than in the case of older persons."

The children were found to be working in the stores from nine to fifteen hours at wages averaging \$2.50 per week, from which many had to deduct carfare. In the sweatshops the hours at the height of the season were fourteen a day.

Girls are employed by the thousands in stores, textile mills, sweatshops, cigar factories and binders and in considerable numbers in other industries. Boys are employed by the thousands in all these places and in the sawmills, foundries, metal factories, and by the meat packers as well. A very large number are employed in the mines—especially those of Pennsylvania where the miserable conditions are so well known.

Since the census of 1890 and the U. S. Labor Report of 1896, the State factory inspectors' reports show that the movement has continued. The 1899 report of Illinois shows that the number of children under 16 increased in one year from 11,845 to 13,646, an increase of 1800. Not only does the proportion of children at work in that State increase but the number of children increases faster than the number of adults. The percentage of women in the total employees has also increased in one year from 18.2 to 18.6.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the Working Class Live

"Even to-day when nearly all join in the joyous acclaim of industrial progress and commercial success, we may witness in any of our cities poverty, misery and despair. The slums of our great cities stand as an accusing spectre to the maladministration of our economic political and social affairs."—Pres. Gompers to the A. F. of L., 1899.

During the last century we have passed from a domestic system of industry to a competitive system; first, among small producers; and, second, among large producers. We are now entering upon a system of industry which is commonly designated as monopolistic. The concentration of population elsewhere shown in this book is really the agglomeration of workers at industrial centres. There is a rural exodus. The country districts are decreasing, in many instances, all over the western world. Young men and young women are coming into the city, not only because they delight in the attractions of city life, but also because the workers in small towns and in the country are forced by economic pressure into the cities. The small manufactory gives way to the factory system as the small country store gives way to the large city stores and the many schemes of ordering goods by mail. The last few years have been most marked by an enormous increase in city populations, and everywhere, from St. Petersburg to San Francisco, the cities are presented with some baffling problems connected with the housing of the working people. It is not necessary nor desired that a survey of tenement house reform should be given. The purpose of what follows is to give to the public a statement of the terrible facts concerning the condition of the working class in their homes.

In Cincinnati there are some dangerously unsanitary

districts. There are streets and rows of tenements, where the houses, court-yards, and out-houses are so filled with the germs of disease that anyone moving into those districts is instantly infected with them. The people of the districts become inoculated with the disease germs, and while not attacked themselves by the disease are yet disseminators of the germs. Some say that this is a good thing, because those who survive those conditions will be more rugged and more fit to compete. But this is not a sound argument. However, even for the sake of the few who will survive in these localities, can we allow the frightful mortality their inoculation causes wherever they may venture?

The very bad system of drainage in Cincinnati, together with an exceedingly impure water supply gives that city a very high death rate from typhus. In 1894 the rate was three times that of London, eight times that of Hamburg, ten times that of Vienna, twelve times that of Berlin, and twenty times that of Munich. In Vienna before the introduction of a pure water supply the death rate was 200 per 100,000, after the advent of pure water it fell to 10. In Angouleme pure water reduced the deaths from typhoid fever in the proportion of 18 to 0.063, in Amiens from 111 to 17.

But the most painful of all, *the most wretched of the workers*, the lowest, filthiest district of the city was characterized by the total absence of children. The sanitary conditions were so vile, the standard of life so low, and the heritage to the children so meagre that undervitalized as they were they early succumbed in the struggle for existence. Probably the promiscuity and scant powers of procreation caused few children to be born.

Other and probably equally bad conditions could be shown to exist in Boston, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Buffalo, Philadelphia, etc., but the story would be too long. Books, papers, and magazines are filled with descriptions of our cities—moral and physical pest holes. There is small use in the attempts to describe them. Sometimes, one would think, this is a main cause of our apathy to the awful conditions. *But this has been found true and may be useful to state here, that the health, strength and morality of*

the workers and all things depending on these qualities bear a definite relation to the sanitary conditions of the streets, alleys, court-yards, out-houses, sewerage and water supply.

And now let the foregoing typify, as it may, the unsanitary conditions outside of the house. But, of course, this is not all, nor even the worst. Inside of the house, in the rear tenements, in the sweating dens, and lodging houses, we find other conditions of unhealth. In order to understand fully what these are, the foot-note on the different kinds of housing will be valuable. The problems of each city in regard to unsanitary conditions within the houses is different from that of any other.

The following statistics from the reports of the National Bureau of Labor on "The Slums of Great Cities" and of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor for 1892 on the tenements of Boston, will show the various housing facilities. The following figures are for the so-called slums: In Baltimore they contain 18,048 individuals; 4,028 families occupy 15,195 rooms, showing an average of 1.19 persons to a room; Chicago shows an average of 1.37 persons to a room; New York 1.88, and Philadelphia 1.47 persons. The greatest number of tenements to a house is: in New York 29, Chicago 24, Philadelphia 15, and Baltimore 13. The large number of families in Baltimore, Chicago and Philadelphia living in houses of from one to five tenements is noticeable. New York is the exception, showing a greater proportion of families living in houses having a larger number of tenements to a house. Philadelphia shows 53.91 per cent of all families, comprising 60.97 per cent of all individuals living in houses of one tenement, that is, occupying the whole house. From the Eleventh Census the number of people to a dwelling (any abode where any one lives) in all the cities is as follows: Baltimore, 6.02 persons; Philadelphia, 5.60 persons; Brooklyn, 9.80 persons; Chicago, 8.60 persons; New York, 18.52 persons; St. Louis, 7.41; and Boston, 8.52. Comparing the statistics of the cities as a whole with those of the slum districts, we find in most cases that the number of persons to a room in the slums is almost double to that in the city. Chicago has 15.51 persons to a dwelling in the slums and New York 38.79

Therefore the question is what is the sanitary condition of these houses? In 1867, of the 18,582 tenements in New York, 9,846 were in a very bad sanitary condition. In 1893, the tenements in New York City numbered 39,138, with a population of 1,332,773. How many were badly unsanitary is not known but certain it is that 3,984 were absolutely unfit for human habitation. The Secretary of Tenement House Committee, Mr. Edward Marshall, in his report says: "Omitting from the technical tenement houses, such flats and apartments houses, as do not properly come within the province of the semi-annual inspection, it is proper to say that almost no

houses which do not contain defects of construction, plumbing and drainage in direct violation of the sanitary or building-code can be found." The inside sanitary conditions of New York tenements are extremely bad.

The excellent and exhaustive report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor on the sanitary conditions of the Boston tenements will give us an idea of the condition of health there:

Sanitary Condition.		Outside Sanitary Condition.	
		No. of Families.	Population.
1. City of Boston.....		100.00	100.00
2. Excellent		15.77	16.61
3. Good		40.60	40.30
4. Fair		30.87	31.02
5. Poor		9.10	9.33
6. Bad		2.66	2.74

Inside Sanitary Conditions.

Light and Air.		Ventilation.		Cleanliness.	
No. of Families.	Population.	No. of Families.	Population.	No. of Families.	Population.
100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
18.66	16.44	18.74	18.49	20.67	19.84
44.39	44.50	44.07	44.16	39.33	38.97
28.58	28.68	28.80	28.94	28.44	28.89
6.56	6.61	6.79	6.86	9.15	9.68
1.81	1.77	1.60	1.55	2.41	2.62

These figures show that 11.76 per cent of the families in the rented tenements of Boston live in poor or bad outside sanitary conditions. This means 8,426 families and 37,613 individuals. Those tenements classed as poor or bad, with reference to inside conditions, house 5,992 families or 26,097 individuals. The families constitute 8.36 per cent of the whole number of families; and the individuals 8.38 per cent of the whole population.

The conditions in certain districts, however, are by no means shown in these figures. Many wards have much larger percentages than the cities as a whole. *In ward 4, 27.95 per cent; in ward 7, 25.86 per cent; in ward 13,*

26.41; and in ward 25, 22.45 per cent of the population live in poor or bad sanitary conditions. In eleven out of the twenty-five wards the percentages are higher than in the city as a whole. Thirteen wards, classed as having poor or bad sanitary conditions inside, have larger percentages than the city as a whole. In ward seven the families living without proper provision for light and air are 26.66 per cent of the whole. The streets and alleys of this ward are very dirty—great accumulations of rubbish and filth in the courts and passage-ways.

The conditions in the tenement houses of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia are shown us in a Report of the National Bureau of Labor in 1894. The investigation in this case was not so careful as in that of Boston. The leap from fair to bad tenements is a long one and does not give the reader a definite idea of what the less favorable conditions are. The figures however, are at least helpful.

Among the very worst classes of bad housings are the rear tenements. They are in such conditions that the sanitary authorities are hopeless of making them healthful. The walls and floors are always damp and cold, without any possibility of sunlight. Increased evils arise from the fact that the tenants are usually the poorest and dirtiest. The space commonly between the front and rear tenements is generally filled with any filth and unhealthy rubbish which the people may throw there. They are the worst of all housing because it is impossible for them to furnish the necessities to good health; sunlight, fresh air, dry and warm floors, cleanliness and sufficient room. The rear tenements of our cities do much toward the vast unhealth of our municipalities.

As a means of comparing the healthfulness of the rear tenements to those standing singly on a lot these figures from the Report of the Tenement House Committee of 1894 are significant:

New York Wards.	Death-rate in houses standing singly on a lot.	Death rate in houses having front and rear on same lot.
1	29.03	61.97
2	28.57
3	15.55	22.55
23	18.31	49.38
12	20.67	29.05
24	7.30

Notice the death rate of the children under five years of age in these "slaughter houses."

1	109.58	204.54
2	105.69	114.68
8	95.58	129.56
9	92.78	130.56

No greater evidence could be found than these figures to show the horrible conditions of disease common to the rear tenements.

If possible worse, yet very much like the rear tenements, are the old and dilapidated buildings. The two need not be mutually exclusive. These houses are often the old houses of wealthy people who, moving away, allow the buildings to become patched and altered into the most frightful tenements. They are in no way fitted for homes to the people crowded into them.

And they make the very unsanitary and unhealthful tenements which so greatly augment the death-rate in these districts. The deaths in sixty-six of these homes, the worst in New York, were as follows:

Total population.....	5,560
Deaths in 1889.....	207
Deaths in 1890.....	237
Deaths in 1891.....	247
Deaths in 1892.....	217
Deaths in 1893.....	348

These enormous death-rates—over 63 per thousand in 1893—are arguments without equal. It seems little less than cool and determined massacre.

PRIVATIONS DUE TO EXCESS OF RENT.

As Marcus T. Reynolds says high rents are due to excess of demand over supply the ignorance of the newly arrived immigrant is an element in high rents, but the main cause is the concentration of the factories in the large cities. As the workers cannot afford to go a long distance to work they are forced to swarm around the factories or shops.

Combined valuation of land and buildings.	Annual rental.	Percentage of annual rental of combined valuation of land and buildings.
\$400.00	\$144.00	36.00
1,600.00	576.00	39.00
600.00	228.00	38.00
600.00	282.00	48.00
500.00	246.00	49.00
500.00	195.12	39.00

The above investigation relates to 646 houses of estates which were reported by the investigators to be in a bad sanitary condition.

Miss Adah A. Woolfolk, of the College Settlement in Rivington St., found that among 600 families, 27 per cent of the earnings were expended in rent. Some cases were found in New York where the rent amountd to 25 per cent of the amount invested by the owners. "The old tenements, without any improvements . . . are the most profitable." The high rents of the tenements involve great hardships to the tenants. One-eighth is enough of a wage-earner's income for this purpose, but, as we saw, there are cases where it demands nearly one-third.

Excessive rents involve many hardships and among the chief of these is overcrowding. The overcrowding in New York is to be guessed, at least imagined, from the fact that it has a greater density per acre than any other city in the world. The density of population in a few cities of this and foreign countries is shown here:

(From tables of comparative density of population in different cities of the world, by Roger Tracy, M. D., Report Tenement House Committee, 1894, page 256.)

	Per acre.
Paris	125.2 for 1891
Berlin	113.2 for 1894
New York.....	76.0 for 1893
Below Harlem.....	148.2 for 1894
Greater London.....	13.2 for 1893

The following are comparisons of certain crowded districts in the world, made by Mr. Tracy:

District.	City.	Density per acre.	Date.
Sanitary district A.,			
Eleventh ward....	New York.....	986.4	'94
Tenth ward.....	New York.....	626.26	'93
Bethnal Green north			
Mile End.....	London	365.3	'91
Newton	Whitechapel	303.5	'91
Koom barnara.....	Bombay	759.66	'81
Chukla	Bombay	718.26	'81

Even in these crowded conditions the rents force many families to take boarders.

A witness before the Ten. H. Comm. of 1894 reported an investigation which found 218 families that accommodated 348; 151 families had 311 lodgers; 139 families had 214 boarders. Mr. Robert Graham tells of a family consisting of a man and wife, girl of 18 and a boy, they had a married couple for lodgers, who had twins of 14, another girl of 16, two boys, and, in addition to that, there were four male lodgers, making 15 people. This was done at the expense of decency in order to pay rent. In New York there were found eleven residents living in two rooms.

Some of the evils of overcrowding are thus summarized by the Tenement House Commission: "It results in keeping children up and out of doors until midnight in warm weather because the rooms are almost unendurable, making cleanliness of house and street difficult; filling the air with unwholesome emanations and foul odors of every kind; producing a condition of nervous tension; in-

terfering with separateness and sacredness of home life; leading to promiscuous mixing of all ages and sexes in a single room; thus breaking down the barriers of modesty, conducing to the corruption of the young and occasionally to revolting crimes." These are indeed some of the most evident and dreadful evils which accompany overcrowding. But these are not all; the resulting bad health and the ever increased number of deaths are not spoken of.

The intimacy of the tenement house population makes the spread of disease there almost unpreventable. If the homes represent cells in our social life, the analogy cannot be distasteful if we call the tenement houses sores from which contagion is spread throughout the whole social body.

The question of sweating is closely connected with the great amount of sickness in the tenement. By means of clothes and all products of the sweating-dens, disease goes into every home. The Factory Inspectors of Illinois report this case: "A tailor was making a coat in his bedroom and his wife was making butter in the kitchen and had several tubs of it for sale, while a baby lay ill of small-pox in a room opening into both the others. Under the Workshop and Factory Law the coat could be destroyed, but the butter, so far as the inspectors know, was sold in the ordinary way of the trade." There are many like cases.

This report Mrs. Florence Kelly and her co-inspectors shows: First, "that each manufacturer of clothes" whose business was "investigated," has some shops not on tenement house premises, but every one has more shops that are on such premises; second, that the tenement house premises are, as a rule, crowded with tenants; third, that a large proportion of these shops are over stables or sheds, in basements mixed in with the sweater's family, or upon upper floors; and upper floors of these buildings, where shops and tenants are crowded together, are almost invariably found with a defective water supply, pest-breeding closets, walls covered with filth, infested with vermin." This valuable report shows clearly why a tenement house is a breeding place for disease,

from which the germs are disseminated with the products and with the workers.

The great prevalence of typhoid, measles, scarlet-fever, tuberculosis, diphtheria, small-pox, etc., caused by the unlawful and disgraceful condition is greatly enhanced by the ignorance of the inhabitants. Then, too, landlords, shopkeepers and manufacturers for pecuniary reasons, do much to conceal disease. Even the parents hide their infected children in order to keep their chance of work. But sometimes the concealment is caused by an intense aversion and fear of the hospitals and pest-houses. The reason of the fear varies; mostly it is ignorance, but sometimes it is knowledge of these places.

Sir James Paget, the distinguished English physician, estimates that the whole population of England between the ages of 15 and 65 years old in each year work 20,000,000 weeks less than they might if it were not for sickness. The domestic, industrial and agricultural classes lose about 53,531,500 annually. The preventable sickness among the workers he estimates at one-fourth. Therefore the loss on the working class must be nearly \$14,599,500. Typhoid fever, which is entirely preventable, causes an annual loss of 230,000 weeks of work to those who survive it.

Mr. E. R. L. Gould says in this connection: "Some years ago an inquiry, made by the sanitary authorities in the very poorest part of London, disclosed the fact that, upon the lowest average, every workingman lost about twenty days in the year from sheer exhaustion. Putting the value of his labor at a low figure, a good-sized additional sum would have been available for the rent bill had exhaustion not occurred.

There is nothing in this country which will compare with the statistics for English conditions. But possibly it is only valuable as suggestion—we cannot prove a point with such material, but we can get some good ideas of what bad housing means. The death rates make a good measure of the healthful conditions of homes, but even it is not *accurately* indicative of the amount of sickness. These we examine under a former title.

To summarize these points: First, the intimacy of

tenement-house life is most favorable for the spread of contagion; second, the concealment of disease fosters epidemics; third, the vast number of sweating dens in the tenements makes them hot houses of disease from which the seed is regularly distributed; fourth, the great unwillingness of the inhabitants and others to enforce sanitary conditions costs a tremendous annuity to the poor in the way of sickness, etc.

Concerning rents in this country the testimony of the Tenement House Committee of 1894 is significant: "I found that the average monthly rental paid by families occupying five rooms was \$21.39; that the average rental of families occupying four rooms was \$15.38; that the average rental paid for three rooms was \$11.12; that the average rental paid for two rooms was \$7.86, and for one room \$5.04; that led me to a comparison between the conditions of life among a similar class of people in London and here; the high rentals had puzzled me ever since I had been in New York, and I passed a note over to Dr. Gould asking him if he would state to me his opinion as to the relative rentals for equal accommodation in London, Edinburgh and any other English towns, especially Birmingham, and I received a reply which coincided with my own opinion, that the rent paid for two, three or four rooms, as the case might be, was very nearly double in the city of New York to what it was in London, and that it was more than double that paid in either Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow or Edinburgh."

SOME DEATH RATES FOR CHICAGO.

The following will show the awful contrast between the death rates in a respectable well-to-do neighborhood and a respectable working class neighborhood:

Locality.	Death rate.
16th ward.....	17.03
City of Chicago.....	14.57
22nd ward.....	11.65

These figures show that the death rate in the 16th ward is 16 per cent greater than in the city of Chicago

taken as a whole. It also shows that the death rate in the 16th ward is 46 per cent greater than the death rate in the 22nd. ward.

Death Rates for Children from 1 to 5 Years.

Locality.	Death rate.
16th ward.....	21.19
22nd ward.....	9.08

These figures show that the death rate for children in the 16th ward is 121 per cent greater than in the 22nd. The shocking conditions which make this great difference in death rates between these two wards cannot be imagined and can hardly be believed.

Death Rates for Children Under 1 Year.

Locality.	Death rate.
16th ward.....	139.57
22nd ward.....	89.64

The death rate for children, as here shown, is 56 per cent greater in the 16th ward than in the 22nd ward.

Private action is, of course, powerless against such evils as these, but the local governments may do much when in the hands of Socialists in the way of immediate measures. Otherwise nothing of much importance has been or will be done.

Socialism will ultimately put the whole machinery of government in the hands of the worker. Meanwhile where it can gain control of local government it will afford immediate relief from such conditions as these.

Last year the Socialists had control of the West Ham Town Council, London. The Labour Annual of 1900 gives the following account of their work:

"During their tenure of office the Council established an eight-hour day for municipal employes, doubled the number of sanitary inspectors, erected many workmen's dwellings (which compete very satisfactorily with the privately owned slum property), passed a big housing scheme which, if sanctioned by Parliament, will give them power to erect over 3,000 houses, and provide good municipal accommodations for from 15,000 to 20,000 people; erected baths, found useful work for the

unemployed; provided free concerts to counteract the public-houses, and were still able in two years to reduce the rates by 3d. in the pound. They seriously intended to ensure that every landlord who had raised his rents should in turn have his assessment similarly raised; also proposed taking over the tramways, and providing cheap electric light for all."

CHAPTER IX.

Towards Plutocracy

The effect of such stupendous differences in the distribution of wealth as exist in the United States upon the life of the individual is apparent to the most casual observer. This division of the people of the country into economic classes and the movement which is constantly going on to widen the gulf between them at the same time, is slowly and surely undermining those of our public institutions which tend to act as safeguards for the masses. The rigidity of the class lines in this supposedly democratic nation is manifested in a thousand ways. Cities are divided into class districts; amusements differentiate themselves by classes; education is a badge of class; the charitable institutions and their growing importance shows the cleavage; the cut of a man's clothes marks the circle in which he may move. These demonstrations of the state of affairs are, however, of minor significance. The very channels through which relief may come are in the hands of the enemy. The presence of classes threatens the life of democracy. From the point of view of the present ruling classes popular suffrage must be regarded with a more and more jealous eye; public opinion must be muzzled; public education is a danger; equality before the law is not to be considered.

Democracy and Plutocracy cannot continue to exist together in the State. Democracy must be given new life or cease to be.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The education of the public is the prime duty of all governments, especially it is the duty of a democracy.

In the United States workingmen and their sons are rarely if ever found in the universities. In the first-

class institutions living expenses form a drawback which few even of the middle class may overcome. Consequently no mention is made here of the "Institutions of Higher Learning."

In those States where most wealth has been produced in recent years and where industrial development is most protected, there is a growing neglect of the education of the people.

Below is a comparison of a comparative rate of increase in population and of school enrollment:

From the U. S. Census of 1880-1890:

	Popula- tion. Per cent.	School Enrollment. Per cent.
Illinois	24.32	10.55
Massachusetts	25.57	17.33
Pennsylvania	22.77	6.40
New York.....	18.00	1.38

But what does this schooling amount to? The average number of days in the school year was 139. The average attendance of each pupil was only 86 days. The average number of years each pupil attended school was slightly over four. Each pupil then received 86 times 4 or 344 days of schooling during his school life. This formed his complete education.

This is what a distinguished and efficient foreigner after a thorough investigation says of what is taught: "It is evident that the achievement of even a highly gifted people must fall below a high standard under such a regime."

Again: "It is almost ludicrous to say that compulsory education is generally adopted in the United States."
—Prof. Waetzoldt.

A worse state of affairs exists in the wealthy cities.

From the report of the school board of Brooklyn for '94 it is shown that though 30 or 35 is known to be as large as number of students as can be decently handled in a room, yet of 377 classes 231 had between 60 and 70 pupils; 65 had between 90 and 100 pupils; 18 had between 100 and 110 pupils; 2 had between 130 and 140

pupils; 4 had between 140 and 150 pupils. Moreover there were only 1,800 new sittings for 5,000 new pupils.

In Philadelphia 8,000 children receive only half-day sessions. In Chicago where 25 new school buildings were asked for, one was built. About 6,000 children had only a half-day's session. Of the 16,000 reported to the truancy board, but 7,000 were returned. How many cases of non-attendance were not discovered at all is a matter for conjecture.

Daniel Folkmar, in speaking of the degree of mental instruction enjoyed by the so-called "lower classes" of all the children that enter the public schools of the two named cities:

1. About one-third go no further than the first grade.

2. About one-half go no further than the second grade.

3. About two-thirds go no further than the third grade.

4. About three-fourths go no further than the fourth grade.

5. About nine-tenths go half way only through the twelve grades.

6. About ninety-seven in every hundred drop out before reaching the high school.

7. Only three in every thousand finish the entire course, or more exactly, the following per cents drop out at each grade:

Grade 1, 32 per cent; 2, 51; 3, 66; 4, 78; 5, 86; 6, 92; 7, 95; 8, 97; 9, 98.6; 10, 99.3; 11, 99.7.

Ex-State Superintendent C. L. T. Smart, of Ohio, states that only about 3 per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools ever enter the high school, and from them less than 1 per cent graduate; 50 per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools of the state do not attend school more than four years; 75 per cent stop attending school before entering the eighth year or grade, and 97 per cent do not attend beyond the eighth year.

Dr. Wm. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, says in his report of the committee of fifteen:

"The average number of pupils of the St. Louis schools in the lowest three years of the course was about 72 per cent of the entire number enrolled. Nearly three-fourths of all the pupils of the public schools are in the studies of the first three years or in primary studies. Six-sevenths of the population of the United States on arriving at the proper age for the secondary education never receive it. Thirty out of thirty-one fail to receive higher education upon arriving at the proper age. Obviously the data of Milwaukee and Chicago are typical for the United States in general.

Mr. C. L. T. Smart says in explanation: "A majority of the patrons of the public schools cannot do without the labor of their children and therefore cannot give them time to attend school longer."

Prof. D. Folkmar states: "I answer without hesitation that the chief factors are economic conditions. Too many either cannot support their children as they desire, or cannot spare them through a longer period of schooling."

Prof. Waetzoldt says: "The insufficient expenditure for education, . . . easily explains the policy of many cities in . . . eventually limiting the course to the three R's."

It cannot be said that immigration is responsible for the existing state of affairs. For though the total illiteracy of the population of over 10 years in 1890 was 13.3 per cent, the per cent of foreign-born illiterate of over 10 years was only 13.1 per cent.

The census of 1890 shows that while the population between 5 and 18 years is 20,865,000, the average attendance at school is only 9,747,000, or 46.7 per cent.

Where there are most opportunities for education and most wealth there seems least inclination to insist on a decent standard of compulsory education. The reluctance of the wealth holders to pay for the education and the need for the child's labor to help support the family, whether by working in the factory or on the farm, are responsible. The reluctance grows on the one side, the necessity on the other. As classes become more and more separated, the need for education in the lower classes—at

least in the eyes of the rich—becomes more and more useless, dangerous, and a needless expense. The corresponding increase of child labor is discussed in a previous chapter.

PUBLIC OPINION.

A more important force than the school, more powerful and more truly educating is the control of public opinion. The ownership of the sources of information are necessary to exert this control. A new trust seems to have been formed, for the sources are in the same hands—in the hands of the capitalistic class. The three chief sources from which public information is disseminated are, the universities, the newspapers and the government reports.

The aim of the university should be to bring light and report the truth. As such they are a menace to the governing classes. But there is little to be feared by the rich from the colleges in this country. In the first place they are beyond the reach of those most concerned in the present conditions. In the second place they are owned by the wealthy. The private gifts to institutions of an educational character during the past year amounted to \$62,750,000. (App. Encl. 1899.) During the past seven years the gifts from private sources amounted to \$266,550,000. (App. Encl. 1899.) This gives some idea of who has control of our universities. Rich men are invariably chosen on the boards that they may be complimented into giving to the institution. At present the endowments of the private institutions make them the most important. The professors in the State Universities also must depend on one or the other capitalistic party for support, and few of them care to lose their job by expressing radical opinions.

The money power must not be displeased and hence alienated.

Here are some newspaper clippings selected by Prof. T. E. Will, in an article entitled "The Prostitution of Education":

Did space permit, an extended list of cases could be given illustrative of the proposition that economic teach-

ers in America who adhere to educational ideals of this paper are to-day proscribed. To remove all doubt, however, on this point, I submit the following newspaper clippings in connection with the case of President Andrews. That the issue on this occasion was silver is immaterial. The same results are visited upon professors and presidents whose views are "unsound" upon other aspects of the social and industrial questions.

The utterly sordid character of these editorial expressions and their absolute repudiation of the educational ideal is obvious:

There can be no doubt that an advocate of the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is not a valuable president for an eastern college, which must in the nature of things depend upon the support of men who believe in the maintenance of the gold standard.—*New York Critic*, July 31, 1897.

In these very practical days of the closing years of the nineteenth century, the final test of a college president is his ability to draw funds toward the institution over which he presides.—*Maryland Democrat*, July 3, 1897.

If they (the trustees) had come out man-fashion and told him that in their judgment no institution of learning that tolerated such a man as he at its head could or ought to expect to receive endowments from anybody, they would have strengthened their university and have greatly improved their own personal relation with the question at issue.—*New York Sun*, quoted in *Chattanooga Times*, Aug. 3, 1897.

A college president has no right to promulgate views of such a character as to react against the interests of the college of which is in charge.—*Boston Journal*, quoted in *Public Opinion* for Aug. 5, 1897.

The trustees did ask him to modify his activity in behalf of free silver. They had a right to ask that because they represented the persons whose money had made the university a possible success.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 30, 1897.

It was a simple business proposition. The trustees can scarcely be blamed for protecting its financial interests.—*Kansas City Star*, July 28, 1897.

The trustees of the college had an indisputable right to object to his public advocacy of those views if in their judgment such a course was detrimental to the interests of the institution. . . . It was a business matter regarding which they had disagreed.—Troy (New York) Times, Aug. 30, 1897.

He was only a servant; and a servant must do as his employers wish or quit their service.—Globe-Democrat, July 30, 1897.

But neither he nor the juvenile portion of the faculty of Brown university can deny the right of any congregation to select the kind of doctrine that it would like its youth to be taught.—New York Mail and Express, Aug. 3, 1897.

The trustees have the unquestionable right to suppress teaching which they believe to be false, as well as injurious to the college.—Penn Yan (New York) Express, July 28, 1897.

The Philadelphia Commonwealth for July 31, 1897, a gold paper, but comparatively fair, said:

The trustees had, indeed, a right to expect him to shape his teachings in economics to meet their views, but it was imprudent for them to use their right.

. . . . It is simply a question of whether Dr. Andrews, the employe, is satisfactory to Brown corporation, the employer.—New York Press, Aug. 5, 1897.

We go further and say that if he (the president) had not offered his resignation it would have been their duty to dismiss him.—Poughkeepsie Eagle, July 29, 1897.

The trustees of a college when they find a president or a professor teaching pernicious doctrines or those which appear to the trustees to be pernicious ought to discharge him and put in his place an orthodox teacher. . . . If the issue should be raised between business men who support colleges and professors who live upon them the latter will find their occupation gone.—Philadelphia Ledger, Aug. 5, 1897.

But, it may be urged, the above are but the irresponsible utterances of nameless newspaper scribblers unfamiliar with educational ideals. Do not college trustees

repudiate such sentiments and insist upon freedom of teaching in their institutions?

Let us take some testimony:

Mr. James Henry Raymond, A. M., LL. B., one of the trustees of Northwestern university at Evanston, Illinois, commenting at length over his signature, in a Chicago paper, on the case of President Andrews, declared that the board of trustees constitutes the absolute and final authority in colleges and universities. Continuing, he said:

In social science and political science they (the faculty of the college or university), as a rule, are only a little less qualified to be the final arbiters as to what should be taught than they are concerning financial problems, and, I repeat, in all things they should promptly and gracefully submit to the final determination of the trustees when the latter find it necessary to act. There would be as much propriety in the trustees permitting a president or a professor to remain in the ranks of an institution having the special support of a Christian denomination, to embrace every available public opportunity to preach atheism or agnosticism as there would be in the trustees of any university of rank yet organized in this country permitting the preaching of the silver doctrine of Doctor Andrews.

A professor is not a mere parrot to repeat and fairly explain to his students the diametrically opposite premises, arguments and conclusions of the writers and teachers of the ages upon any given subject. He must of necessity be an advocate, but his advocacy must be in harmony with the conclusions of the powers that be, with the animus and the main purposes of the institution, and the teachings of his collaborators.

Mr. George H. Shibley in the role of a newspaper reporter visited Mr. Raymond and interviewed him concerning the above published expression of his views. Mr. Raymond said:

During the week that has elapsed since its publication I have not received any criticism from university circles, but I have received from most unexpected sources the most unqualified commendation. . . . The commendations that I refer to come not only from officers of

our university but also from those connected with other institutions who have given this matter long and careful study.

Armed with a copy of Mr. Raymond's statement Mr. Shibley next visited members of the governing boards of the following institutions: Northwestern, Cornell, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Johns Hopkins and the American. To these trustees he submitted Mr. Raymond's statement and questioned them concerning their opinion of it. He found that, almost to a man, they supported Mr. Raymond's view.

Examination of these clippings leads to another recognition. There is something odd about the press.

The large city newspaper is becoming more and more powerful and is swiftly pushing its small competitors out of the field.

There is a growing tendency for even these enormous forces to unite. Mr. Hearst has brought the control of three of the largest papers of the country into his single hands. The press associations are another factor working towards unification.

These papers are not always paying concerns. Often they are only by-products of large corporations in exactly the same sense as bristles are a by-product of the Chicago Stock Yards. They are owned merely to help make power and money for the corporation. Mr. Yerkes' ownership of the Chicago Inter-Ocean is a fair example.

But whether these stupendous powers upon which the people depend for their news and which ingeniously form their opinion to-morrow (as did Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, when, failing in his plan, the Jamieson Raid, he bought and became the principal stockholder in all the important papers in the colony and after a few years experienced no trouble in gaining his end), are making money or losing money, they must from their very size be controlled by the capitalist class, and their editors must, from the very nature of their employment, bend to the will of the stockholders.

All that this means, it is not easy to state. Through this power nations may be hurled into unjust war; whites stirred with race hatred against blacks—though their in-

terests be identical; strikers may be maligned and made to lose public sympathy; crimes may be hidden and glossed over, and other crimes may be manufactured just as real in their result as if true.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICS.*

As essential to the maintenance of power to enslave the masses, plutocracy has successfully sought control not only of the press and our institutions of learning, but also of the sources of information regarding social and economic conditions. Through its domination in politics the capitalist class controls the appointment of officials of our statistical bureaus and decides the character of the information or rather mis-information given to the public through numerous reports. Their tenure of office depending on the influence and good will of this all-powerful class, officials of statistical bureaus of necessity became the apologists and defenders of the injustice of the existing social system, ready to statistically and "conclusively" demonstrate its beneficence. That it is very easy to puzzle with figures is admitted by our most eminent statistical authority, Col. Carroll D. Wright, at present in charge of the National figure factory known as the Department of Labor and lately in charge of the statistics of the Eleventh Census. While admitting the ease with which statistics may be juggled, this official, at the same time, maintains that "as a matter of fact figures will never lie, but liars will figure."†

While it might be shown that even honestly compiled statistics may be grossly misleading because of failure to comprehend their true import, there can be no question that Col. Wright, who is usually wrong, is right as to the ease with which statistics may be juggled, for of this his official reports and contributions to popular literature furnish numerous illustrations.

That both female and child labor is increasing and that as a consequence the tendency of wages is downward, is plain to every open-eyed observer, and was remarked by

*See articles by H. L. Bliss: *Journal of Sociology*, June 1897, July 1900, and *Journal of Political Economy*, Dec. 1899.

†Guntton's Magazine, March, 1896.

Col. Wright himself, before it became necessary for the maintenance of his official position, that he should statistically demonstrate the contrary. Before his elevation to his present lucrative office, in his Sixth Annual Report, as Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, Col. Wright remarked: "There seems within recent times to have occurred a change in the relation of wages to support, so that more and more the labor of the whole family becomes necessary to the support of the family. If we are right in our surmises that this is becoming more fixed and recognized from decade to decade it certainly bodes no good to our future. The civilization of the nineteenth century, which seems to especially emphasize the home as its most prominent and valuable institution, should not allow it to become necessary that any but the husband and father should labor for its support and security." In this report Col. Wright shows at considerable length the manner in which the introduction of machinery enables the child to take the place of the parent and through competition to reduce his earnings. Now, though there has been rather an increase than a decrease of this tendency, we find this official juggler of statistics demonstrating to the satisfaction of the capitalist class that child-labor is rapidly decreasing and wages no less rapidly increasing. Col. Wright's investigation regarding the employment of women and children, made in pursuance of a joint resolution of the LIII Congress, is a conspicuous illustration of this eminent official's disposition to discover and demonstrate anything but the truth.

Observation indicates that establishments in which females and children form the larger proportion of employees, particularly such establishments as are engaged in trade, have increased more rapidly in numbers as well as in size than their competitors, and are to a large extent monopolizing the retail trade of our cities. Besides numerous smaller establishments of similar character, we have at present in Chicago a half dozen department stores, nearly or quite equal in size with "The Fair," which but a few years ago was the only establishment of this type in this city. A comparison of the proportion of females and

children employed in this establishment at the present period, and ten years previously, manifestly would not indicate the increased employment of females and children in department stores. Yet this is precisely the method followed by our eminent statistical humbug, who obtained information as to the number of female and child employees in 931 establishments in different parts of the country and in various industries at two periods ten years apart, and in his report presented the results as indicating the increase in female and child-labor. Notwithstanding the adoption of a method that must necessarily utterly fail to discover the full increase, the result of this investigation showed a decided increase of female and child labor in the establishments investigated. As a showing of even a slight increase of this character would never suit the Colonel's capitalistic friends, our eminent expert, to prove the contrary, lugs into his report a comparison of juggled, incomparable census statistics. The incomparability of the statistics quoted is due to a change in method that could have had no other possible purpose than the concealment of the truth. While at previous censuses the classification of child workers was from 10 to 15 years inclusive, at the census of 1890 the classification was changed so as to include only those reported as between the ages of 10 and 14. While there was thus an apparent change in the classification of but one year, there was another important change which had the effect of making a practical change of one-half year additional. This resulted from a change in the question as to age asked by census enumerators—the question at the census of 1880 calling for answer as to "age last birthday" and that at the census of 1890 for "age nearest birthday." Of this important change in the age question and the consequent change in the classification of child workers, the census makes no mention, and it can only be ascertained by reference to the original schedules used by census enumerators. This change, evidently made with a purpose to mislead, escaped notice until attention was called to it by H. L. Bliss in the *American Journal of Sociology*. Of this change Col. Wright makes no mention, but instead, takes advantage of it to "conclusively" demonstrate

a great decrease in child labor, though the figures may be fairly taken as indicating a large increase.

How, when occupying official positions, "liars will figure," is farther illustrated by the wage statistics of the Aldrich Report, quoted by Col. Wright as "conclusively" demonstrating a great increase in wages. The increase in wages of recent years indicated by the summary of this report, results from a fallacious method of analysis adopted for the evident purpose of concealing an actual decrease. By the method of this report equal weight is given to the increase of wages of a class embracing a single foreman or overseer with that given to the increase or decrease of a class embracing a large number of operatives. If during a period of years the wages of the foreman of an establishment have increased 100 per cent and those of the remainder of the employees but 10 per cent there is not an increase for the establishment of 55 per cent—that is, 100 per cent and 10 per cent added together and divided by two. Absurd as this may seem, this is precisely the method of the Aldrich Report, except that there are several instead of but two classes. In one brewing establishment, which, though an extreme case, may serve for illustration, the wages of the brewer increased from \$3.19 per day in 1855 to \$23.96 per day in 1891, or 650 per cent. This brewer being put in a class by himself, the increase of his wages is given equal weight with the increase of each of four other classes, which in 1891 embraced 70 operatives. In consequence of this deceptive method of computation there is an apparent increase in the average wages of the establishment of 165.9 per cent, whereas, if we omit from the calculation the class comprising but the one brewer, the average for the remaining classes shows an increase for the period of but 90 per cent. Thus, the increase in the wages of but one man—an increase which does not show that he was receiving better pay for the same work but only better pay for a position of increased responsibility, requiring greater skill and efficiency—is made to nearly double the apparent increase in the average wages of the whole

brewing industry, for which this establishment stands as the sole representative in the Aldrich Report.

In the cotton goods industry the overseers of the weavers, of the spinners, of the cards, of the dyeing department and of the cloth room, is each put in a class by himself, and his increase of wages given equal weight with that of large numbers of operatives in each department. The average for the different industries thus obtained is equalled or averaged and taken as representing the average wages of operatives in all the industries of the United States.

It is from such statistics as these that our most eminent statistical authority "conclusively" demonstrates an increase instead of a decrease of wages since 1873. Col. Wright's demonstrations are all labeled "conclusive" and are accepted as such by many of our people, too indolent and indifferent or too busily engaged in the struggle for existence to investigate and discover the truth of Col. Wright's assertion that "liars will figure."

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

The essential test of growth towards or away from the ideal of democracy is found in the tendency of the laws and their administration toward or away from universal suffrage. Any movement which has for its end the disfranchisement of a single voter must be looked upon with suspicion. Any state of public opinion which does not cry out at such an attempt and put an end to it, marks the decline of democratic sentiment. There is no artificial line which can mark off him who may vote from him who may not. Education is not the test, for the state is to blame if any of its citizens, except defectives, lack education. Property cannot be the test, for the propertyless, as the weakest, are most in need of the protection of the ballot. Sex or race may serve as distinguishing marks, but on what principle?

In the United States there are hundreds of thousands of disfranchised men. Those of the democratic Southern States which have not as yet abolished their negro vote have avowed their intention of so doing. The reason that these men have their ballots stolen from them is not

alone on account of race prejudice. It is because they belong to the so-called "lower orders." The same argument that in England prevents 20 per cent of the population from voting is used against the negro, to wit: they are declared irresponsible because they are without property. Indeed, these election laws deprive the whites of many votes. Senator Pritchard estimates that 20,000 whites were unable to pay their poll taxes and hence will lose their votes under the North Carolina election law. There was no danger of negro supremacy in North Carolina, for the white population was 1,050,000 strong; the colored 562,000.

In speaking of the North Carolina outrage Mr. Bryan requested his auditors to forget the negro of North Carolina and think of the native of the Sulu Islands. It is true that actual slavery exists in our dominions in the colonies, as well as this practical slavery at home. It is true also that the same capitalistic system which is responsible for the one state of affairs is responsible for the other.

Another conspicuous instance of the movement away from democracy may be observed in the election laws of certain states. The democratic party in Kentucky framed the well-known Goebel law, which denied the right of the majority to rule. In the spirit of reform the democrats introduced a substitute measure. The substitute was discovered by the republicans to be more unjust than the original, nor were they made content when they were told that the new measure was a counterpart of the one adopted by their own party (republican) in Ohio.

The Nesbit law in Missouri places the control of elections absolutely in the hands of the governor, and hence, in the hands of the democrats.

This is bound to continue to spread as long as property interests remain supreme, for it is not in the interest of property that the majority should have a voice in the management of affairs.

Minnesota has a law providing for a \$50 fee for each candidate for office or presidential elector. This meant that \$450 (9 electors) must be paid before a party could vote for president. This disfranchised the Socialists in the election of 1900. New York requires that a party

going on by petition must secure 50 signatures in each county of the State for the State ticket.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

Property interests have, from all time, had control of the law. The laws were and are made by them. They administer them. In early days land was the only important possession. Then, every conceivable advantage was given to the landlord. The law of primogeniture kept the estate together. The right to distrain for rent placed the tenant in his master's power. The exemption of the landlord's land from levy for debt gave the land owner protection for his property..

Laws were made to the contrary, but courts and lawyers had slight difficulty in finding technicalities by which they could be avoided. These circumlocutions, like the methods employed to-day, required "the legal mind" for their comprehension, and were safely beyond the ken of those most concerned—the people.

Later, the ruling power has come into the hands of those owning the means of production and exchange—the holders of the "vested rights."

The chance of the ordinary citizen and the general public in a contest against these forces is a matter of common conversation. These tendencies to exalt the property interests above all else are inherent in the law.

"The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is a sounding phrase, but with it goes in every constitution another phrase which generally takes this form: "right to security of property." This is the balance: "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" on the one side, "security of property" on the other. The writers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution left out the phrase about property, but it has been supplied by decisions of the Supreme Court.

In some of the early state constitutions where the property interests were as yet undeveloped the freedom of the citizens alone was important, but new constitutions have remedied the omission.

Our whole law is very logically permeated with a conscious endeavor to maintain this "security of property,"

no matter what the cost. The law is made up of precedents. The best of lawyers and every system of direct and indirect corruption that can be devised by cunning minds are at work trying to build up a set of precedents which shall become law on the one side; the working man, through a lawyer whose interest he cannot afford to buy, and under a judge who belongs to another class, fights on the other. With these facts in mind the tendency of the law is easy to discover.

Fundamental theories make our law unjust.

1. FREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

"The right to acquire and possess property necessarily includes the right to contract. Of all the rights of person it is the most essential to human happiness."—U. S. Su. Ct.

Under this theory every man is presumed to be free to contract as he pleases, and every infringement of this right to starve or obey orders is jealously guarded by the courts.

The following memoranda are collected from U. S. Labor Bulletins for the past two years:

In Missouri an act which made it unlawful for an employer to prohibit an employee from joining any labor or trades union, or to require an employee to withdraw therefrom, was declared illegal as infringing on freedom of contract.

In Pennsylvania an act making the owner of mines liable to injury to other employees occasioned by the negligence of a mine foreman, was declared unconstitutional and void for the same reason.

In many states acts prohibiting the truck system were declared unconstitutional, as violating the right to contract. In others eight-hour laws were declared beyond the pale of the law, and so the list may be made to continue.

Everywhere it has been held that an employee assumes all risk incident to his employment, especially if his injury should be due to the carelessness of a fellow-servant. Acts which have declared that the employee should not be held to have assumed such risks, have either been

declared unconstitutional or their significance has been explained away under the principle that the employee was free to contract.

Tardy recognition of the fact that the immense majority of the people are in no sense free to act in any manner whatsoever as they will, has come from the Supreme Court.

"The former (employers) naturally desire to obtain as much labor as possible from their employees, while the latter are often induced by the fear of discharge to conform to regulations which their judgment, fairly exercised, would denounce as detrimental to their health or strength. . . . In other words, the proprietors lay down the rules and the laborers are practically constrained to obey them."

This decision recognizes that men are not actually free to contract. In this case the courts must determine just how far they are free—and we know who stands at the ear of the court. Each decision which serves to define the existing classes will serve as a precedent to make the dividing line rigid. When the possession of property is held to be "the most essential element of human happiness," these decisions can have but one tendency.

2. NO CLASSES BEFORE THE LAW.

"Theoretically there are no classes in the eyes of the law."—U. S. Sp. Ct.

This means that protection may not be extended to any set of persons who stand in a special need thereof.

In the Labor Bulletins of '98-'99 the following decisions were based on this supposition:

A Sunday closing law was declared unconstitutional in the state of Illinois, as was also an act compelling the weighing of coal at the mines.

In Michigan an act permitting the serving of a special process in the case of mechanics' lien was declared void.

A law protecting the trade marks of trades unions was declared unconstitutional in New Jersey, also an act compelling the marking of convict made goods

An act to provide for the payment of coal miners for

all the coal mined by them was declared to be class legislation.

In Pennsylvania, as the only possible method to prevent importation of labor from other countries, an act passed placing a tax on foreign born unnaturalized laborers, was declared void.

In Colorado an act demanding that attorney fees be allowed the plaintiffs upon foreclosure of mechanics' lien, was rendered nugatory. And so the list runs.

The courts in some instances have passed favorably on legislation of a class character, and in fact recognized the existence of classes. This means that every new decision and every new law will serve as a precedent to clearly distinguish and make iron-bound the class lines as they exist to-day.

One particular set of decisions, which in actual fact recognizes the existence of classes, is found in the damage cases.

Here we find that the worth of life and limb is apportioned to earning capacity. [50 So. W. 477.]

A verdict for \$15,000 for loss of a foot resulting in total disability, etc., is not excessive, plaintiff being a man of 37, in excellent health and earning from \$1,800 to 2,400 a year. [79 N. W. 783.]

In an action for wrongful death of plaintiff's son where evidence disclosed that plaintiff was 54 years of age, etc., and that deceased was unmarried and lived with plaintiff and paid therefore \$5 per week, a verdict for more than \$1,500 is excessive. [Wood vs. L. & N. Ry. Co. (Tenn).]

A verdict for \$8,000 for loss by railway brakeman of one foot and four toes on the other foot, is excessive.

" If the plaintiff had lost his life I think it apparent from his earning capacity and amount required by him to live, that in the common experience of a switchmen he would not have been able to earn sufficient money after paying his living expenses to provide for himself a policy of insurance for \$8,000, upon which he would be able to pay the premium. . . . He would not be able fairly and reasonably to insure his life from his earnings for the sum of \$8,000, nor would he be able to provide the necessary amount of money to insure himself against

loss of limb for that amount of money." Damages declared excessive.

From the general character of these very typical decisions it will be observed that the existence of classes is recognized, and the tendency is to fix a value upon life and limb according to the varying class of the injured party. This is not surprising under the present system, as the difference in opportunity which exists between classes is much greater than the courts could possibly reckon.

If the existence of classes is completely recognized by the court it is easily to be seen from perusal of the latter part of this section what is to be expected.

The choice open to the courts is certainly a perplexing one. They must either refuse to recognize the actual condition of things by making use of legal fictions or they must make the difference permanent and absolute.

What the courts actually do is determined by the best method to protect property. By one theory protective legislation is undone, by the other the value of life and limb is made to correspond to economic class.

PROTECTION OF VESTED INTERESTS.

The protection of vested interests is declared by all the courts to be one of the primary functions of the law.

The use of the injunction will best explain for what purpose the bulk of the machinery of the law has its being and for whom it grinds.

The injunction is a necessary arm of the law and one which is likely to reach in any direction. Judge Brewer says: "I believe most thoroughly that the powers of a Court of Equity are as vast and its processes and procedure as elastic as all the changing emergencies of increasingly complex business relations and the protection of rights demand."

" . . . Contests over wages and terms of service will always exist until human nature is revolutionized or the government is sufficiently paternalized to take charge of the subject of wages generally."

Judge Ross says: "But the proud boast of equity is: *Ubi jus ibi remedium* (where the law is there is a remedy). It is a maxim which forms the root of all equitable deci-

sions. . . . I shall award an injunction requiring the defendant to perform all of their regular and accustomed duties so long as they remain in the employment of the complainant company, which injunction, it may be well to state, will be strictly and rigidly enforced."

The celebrated Kansas City injunction forbade the newsboys from selling buttons with the words "I will walk until the company settles," and the boys were arrested and fined for disobeying it.

Another notorious injunction was the one lately issued by Judge Freedman against the cigarmakers of New York city. In the language of Judge Freedman's decree the strikers are restrained from "interfering with, annoying, accosting, threatening, waylaying and following the plaintiffs and their employees and from loitering around, picketing, patrolling and standing in and about the street and sidewalk in front of the premises, and the streets and avenues adjacent thereto, and from loitering at, or near, picketing, patrolling, waylaying the plaintiffs and their employees and persons seeking employment of the plaintiffs, on the streets and sidewalks in front of, adjacent thereto, and at the homes of the plaintiffs, their employees and workers, and from doing any act or thing, the commission of which has the tendency or effect of molesting the plaintiffs and their employees in the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of their business and their coming or going therefrom.

"Further, pending a determination of this action the defendants were restrained from 'paying any persons any sum of money for picketing, patrolling and loitering about the plaintiff's premises, and from any interference with, annoyance, threats, and insults to the plaintiffs and their employees and workers and persons seeking work in plaintiff's factory, whether in the streets or on the sidewalks adjacent to the said factory or in any other place, and from paying or offering or promising to pay to any former employe of the plaintiffs any sum of money for the purpose of inducing such person or persons to refuse to enter plaintiffs' employment and from paying or promising to pay to any former employee of the plaintiffs any sum of money for the purpose of continuing organized,

concerted and combined action on the part of said former employees of plaintiffs, with the object and purpose of interfering with and preventing the plaintiffs from carrying on their business.'"

This is the way in which the machinery of "equity" adjusts itself "to the changing emergencies of increasingly complex business relations."

In reviewing the decisions in regard to boycotting the United States Court says: "They have very generally condemned those combinations usually termed boycotts."

In the Massachusetts court an injunction was issued which forbade "the defendants to interfere with the plaintiff's business by any scheme . . . organized for the purpose of preventing any person or persons who are now or may hereafter be . . . desirous of entering the (plaintiff's employment) from entering it." The dissenting judge argued that persuasion, advice and social pressure, when used for a good purpose, were justifiable, but he admits that the decisions are against him.

These are the opinions of courts of the very highest standing, and give some idea of the attitude of the law towards any movement of the workingman to protect himself by strikes.

In New York one newspaper endeavored to obtain an injunction against another newspaper for endeavoring to induce its subscribers and advertisers to break their contract. The injunction was *not* granted. (47 N. Y. 264.) Yet in the same state Judge Bookstaver enjoined the printers from making known the relations of the New York Sun to its labor.

"The existence of the relation of trade competitor justifies acts that are the natural incident or outgrowth of such relation whether or not done with a direct intent to injure one's rivals."—Trade & Labor Organization, Cooke.

This is the generally acknowledged law of trade, but it only applies to capitalized trade. The laborer with only his labor to sell is not able to enter this legalized competition.

The injunction takes advantage then of every oppor-

tunity to protect property and steps in either to prevent boycotting entirely, or to rob it of all of its force whenever the boycott is directed against holders of "vested rights."

In what way does equity "adjust itself" to protect the rights of the worker as against the boycott of the employer? It is a well-known fact that a system of blacklisting is very widespread throughout the industries of this country. Mr. William J. Strong says: "This is slavery, pure and simple, yet it is without exaggeration the condition of most railway employees in this country to-day. The blacklisting system is also being adopted in nearly all other branches of corporate employment, such as the large packing houses, street railroads, clothing manufactories and coal mines. It is one of the growing evils of the present era of combinations and trusts, menacing the liberty of a large class of our citizens. A recent illustration shows this. In 1897 the Chicago City Railway Company, as I have mentioned, forbade their employees to join a union, and discharged such as did join. The men, having freshly in mind the terrible suffering and privations of the American Railway Union men, who struck out of sympathy for the oppressed employees of the Pullman Company, also knowing that winter was coming on, yielded to the tyranny of the company rather than bring misery and distress on their wives and children. The railroads use the black list not only to punish those who have been discharged, but to coerce and intimidate those still in their employ."

Although for the protection of property, the injunction is used; the effectiveness of organization destroyed; trial by jury denied; double penalty inflicted both for contempt of court and for the act; yet there is no case where the "protection of rights" has demanded an injunction to protect the employee. The question of the legality of the black list is short-lived. The only ground on which the courts attack this "right" of the employer, is that there is a conspiracy between firms. As concentration goes on and industries come more and more into the hands of single firms and corporations the only ground of legal attack is lost. It is recognized by all of our laws that the

individual (the corporation is an individual before the law) may hire whom he pleases.

There are diseases in the law which are more easy to see than those mentioned above.

If a working man is charged with any offense he is confronted with the problem of bail. The amount of bail is left to the judge's discretion, but the amount is never made so small that a working man or his comrades could raise it. A propertyless man is without recognition. In the large cities it will take about one month for a criminal case to get before the court, and years for cases of other description. If one has money or rich friends, or has been employed to do the dirty work for some "vested interest" bail is easily forthcoming, and if the crime is one which would lead to the exposition of certain existing states of fact, bail may be jumped.

The jury bribing cases in Illinois are notorious. Certain men were indicted for bribing jurors in damage suits in which the Illinois Central Railway was the defendant. The men accused were not men of means, yet without exception they found it worth their while to jump the \$5,000 bail required of them.

The working man has no money to purchase an attorney. On his petition the courts will assign him one of the inexperienced lawyers who hang around the court room. Time is not allowed to prepare the defense which is to stand against the efforts of the whole state.

The sentence, very likely, contains a choice between fine and imprisonment. Ten dollars or ten days. You then choose according to your capital. One man makes \$10 a day when working, or very often when idling, another man earns \$1 per day. The first man has a choice; he may give up the proceeds of one day's work or stay ten days in prison. The second man has no choice for he has no money. He must give up ten days instead of one.

There is a chance for an appeal. If a man can buy a good attorney, exception after exception to the judgment may be discovered. If the man can afford to pay the attorney he may appeal and have another chance. This chance is in direct proportion to his capital, or in other

words, to the brand of attorney he can purchase. The trial of those without the prominence and friends which even a small amount of property brings, passes unnoticed. No newspapers find it their mission to bring it into notoriety. The evidence has no criticism of public opinion to pass upon it.

In suits for damages which are mostly brought by those without means (for it is because they are without the protection which money brings that they are subjected to dangers), it is very important indeed to have a good lawyer. The choice open to the workingman is to offer the lawyer what is known as a contingent fee, to have him take up the case. Namely, he must offer a very large proportion of what may be recovered. A recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois has denied even this opportunity.

If he wins the case is appealed. The table below, from Mr. Gilbert's "The Courts and the Railways," show his chance of recovery upon appeal. These cases represent decisions in which the four principal railways in Illinois were concerned during a term of a couple of years:

Against the Railway in lower Court.	For Railway in Supreme Court.	Per Cent.
63	53	84
27	24	88

The second set of figures represent cases in which death ensued, so there could be no question that there was an injury.

The table below, gathered from the same source, tells the other side of the story:

For the Railway in lower Court.	Against the Railway in Supreme Court.	Per Cent.
53	21	39

But the true state of affairs is worse than this, for of the cases finally won by the plaintiff there was often more than one trial and corresponding delay and expense. Another fact should be noted. Year by year the weaker side becomes weaker, the stronger side becomes stronger. Each decision and set of instructions gained by those

with the power acts as a precedent, in the light of which the following decisions are made. Thus the burden of the failures of others is placed upon the shoulders of the already weaker side.

Such is the law at its best. But the law is by no means always its best. The administration of the law is entirely in the hands of men who have found gain under a capitalistic regime. Their whole lives are spent among the propertied class. Their whole training as lawyers has been to exalt and protect vested interests. The majority of the judges have been in the possession of corporations for years as attorneys prior to their judgeship, and must in many cases return to the same employment. Indeed, it is impossible to gain sufficient prominence in the law to be spoken for as judge without some connection with this or that body of wealth. A list of the leaders of the capitalist parties, of the legislators, of the recent presidents and of the Supreme Court judges compared with a list of their clients, may throw light on the conditions of the equality which exists before the law.

CHAPTER X.

The Platforms of the Capitalist Parties*

It is a commonly understood fact that the platforms of the two capitalist parties are not to be taken seriously. They do not express the heartfelt wishes of the party managers, nor are they intended to outline the future policy of the party. But they will in some measure give an indication of their position on the burning questions of the day. The party managers are very sensitive to every expression of these currents of feeling that stir the people, and will crystallize them into catchwords, by which this sympathy may be attracted to their party. The platform, then, is principally a vote-catcher, and must not be remembered in after years if the party attains the position of power from which it can direct the policy of the nation.

In platform-making the party in opposition has the advantage. It has no past record to trammel it. The faults of the party in power are open to attack, and all that the opposition party has to do is to make liberal promises. Whether these promises can ever be redeemed is of no consequence; they look inviting in the platform.

MUTUAL COMPLIMENTS.

Let us look at the platform of the Republican and Democratic parties to see what they promise to do during the next four years. The Republican platform compliments the Democratic party in the following language: "Under Democratic administration business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired; capital was hidden away, labor distressed and unemployed; the menace to prosperity

*See Job Harriman in the *International Socialist Review* for September, 1900.

has always resided in Democratic principles and in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs; the Democratic party has never earned public confidence." Meanwhile the Democratic platform compliments the Republican party as follows: "The Puerto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress is a flagrant breach of the national good faith; the Republican carpetbag officials plunder the revenues (of Cuba) and exploit the colonial theory, to the disgrace of the American people; the declaration that the Republican party steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine is manifestly insincere and deceptive; the Republican party supports the trusts in return for campaign subscriptions and political support."

DEAD ISSUES.

The Democratic party has openly confessed that the issue of 16 to 1, upon which only four short years ago the institutions of this country were eternally to stand or fall, is now of minor importance, and the question of imperialism has taken its place. Thus the burial ceremonies were said; while the Republican party insists that their legislation on money and tariff has been followed by "prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known." And this claim is made in the face of the facts that a high "tariff" and a "gold standard" prevailed under Cleveland at the time when the Republicans insist that "business was dead, industry paralyzed, credit impaired, money hid away, labor distressed," and also in the face of the facts that they made no material change in the tariff and the gold-standard laws, and the slight alteration in the currency law was not made until the last session of Congress, after the "wave of prosperity" had passed. Priding themselves upon the "wisdom of the gold-standard legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress" passed after the boom was over, they proceed to bury the tariff, with the following inscription upon the tombstone: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," "whose constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled

them to finally enter the markets of the world." Thus they paid tribute to the dead issue, for of what value is a tariff if we are able to "enter the markets of the world?"

IMPERIALISM.

But since that is a fact, could protection have caused the boom of which they boast? Surely this will need no argument. These issues buried, they take their respective positions upon the new issues of imperialism, of the trust and of expansion, with a bait on the side of labor. The Republican party, in its efforts to justify imperialism, declares that the "war was for liberty and human rights," and that "ten millions of the human race were given a new birth of freedom and the American people a new and noble responsibility." If these men are free, are we responsible for them? Is it really freedom or slavery into which they have been born? The Republican party says the "largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be given them." What right have we to determine upon the measure of self-government consistent with their welfare? Was this not precisely what England said of us when we were weak? Is this not always the excuse of the powerful when they are unscrupulously forcing tribute from the weak? Thus our institution and Declaration of Independence are trampled under foot, and taxation without representation becomes the policy of the Republican party.

The Democratic party, being ever watchful for political advantage, perceives this flaw and promptly declares "that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny . . . and is a substitution of the methods of imperialism for those of a republic," "and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Indeed! and did the Democratic party disfranchise the colored people of North Carolina because "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?"

The Democrats assert that "no nation can long endure half republic and half empire." Can any state

long so endure? Look again at North Carolina. Again they warn us that "imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home." Has not despotism already followed imperialism in North Carolina? Were the Democrats in power, would they be more just to the colored Porto Rican than they are to the colored Carolinian? Is not Democratic imperialism and tyranny as hateful in North Carolina as Republican tyranny and imperialism is in Porto Rico and the Philippines?

The Republicans are doing in Porto Rico and the Philippines precisely what the Democrats are doing in North Carolina, and there is no reason to suppose that either would change their conduct if they were to exchange their places. Give them power, and they will both be imperialists.

The Democrats assert they "favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means." We have seen in the analysis of the growth of our industrial system that the surplus wealth which cannot find purchasers in the home market compels the capitalist to seek outlets on the foreign. Our foreign policy is shaped by the dominant force at hand—demand for markets. Whether a capitalist is Democrat or Republican matters nothing; he is compelled to obey the force of circumstances, or face failure. The only difference between the Democrat and the Republican is that the Republicans in power have to take hold of the means at hand, which in this case happen to be warlike, while the Democrat, longing for the same foreign markets, but out of power, can talk about their opposition "to force and violence," and is sure to use "the persuasive power of a high and honorable example," as long as they are out of power.

TRUSTS.

The Democratic platform says that "Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the unfinished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer." The Republican platform "Condemns all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or

to control prices, and favors such legislation as will effectually restrain and prevent all such abuses."

Since they are both agreed upon this proposition, and since they are the only parties represented in Congress, it is pertinent to ask why they did not do something toward carrying out their professions? Each blames the other, and again they are both right, for they are both at fault. The proof is to be found in the fact that they are agreed upon two still more fundamental propositions, from which the other issues arise. They indorse the wage system and uphold the rights of capital. The Republican platform says, first: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," by which "the wages in every department of labor has been maintained at high rates." Second: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions."

The Democratic platform says, first: "We favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employes." Second: "Corporations should be protected in all their rights and legitimate interests."

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE—CAPITALISM.

Upon these two propositions they are certainly agreed. But the wage system means that one man exploits another for a part of his product and keeps the rest. It also means that the employer will keep more of the worker's product than is sufficient to live upon; otherwise he would do as well for a wage. But since the workers produce more than enough to pay themselves and to keep their employers, where is there to be found a market for the rest? Evidently there will be no home market for such products. That which is left over will first become capital. The aggregation of this capital will grow into corporations with their alleged "legitimate interests." The aggregation of these corporations means trusts. In proportion as the number of trusts increases the number of employes decreases. As the machinery of production is improved in its efficiency, so also can fewer men perform the task and at

the same time live on a smaller proportion of their increased product. Thus is the surplus for which there is no market constantly and necessarily increased.

Senator Frye said lately to the Secretary of the American Asiatic Association: "We must either have new foreign markets or revolution." This latter term is evidently applied to the socialists, since Mr. Bryan claims to be and is conservative in his opinions and plans.*

It was this surplus that led up to our war with Spain, under the pretext of freeing the suffering Cuban. Yet the Republican party claim that the war was "unsought and patiently resisted." It is also this surplus which is causing the war with China, under the pretext of saving the missionaries and legations. The Republican platform says that "Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient." And those markets or people which are conquered will be given that "measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties." And thus is political imperialism becoming established as a result of our industrial imperialism, and taxation without representation is the ruling policy. But it is to be expected that this will be the political policy when every industrial establishment in our country is a little empire, with an employer as absolute monarch, "protected in his legitimate interests," and where the workers are his subjects. Nor should we be surprised at the policy of taxation without representation in the colonies, for this is our custom in our industries.

It is apparent that the live issues of this campaign have been forced to the front by our industrial development. Starting with the wage system, the first result is a surplus, which develops the autocratic employer on the one hand and the workman as his subject on the other. As the surplus increases the employer develops into a capitalist, then into a corporation "without a soul," but with "legitimate (?) interests," while the workman remains a subject, with no voice in the man-

*See W. J. Bryan in Democratic leaflet entitled "The Party of Revolution."

agement of affairs. When the surplus grows still larger it represents more power, with which the trust is organized, and the prices to some degree controlled, with the working class still in subjection.

As the trust becomes more powerful the surplus seeks foreign markets, and the workers in foreign lands who are being fleeced, are considered even less capable of acting intelligently than are the American workers, and thus political imperialism abroad is added to industrial imperialism at home. Instead of compulsory education, with state support, both the Republican parties favor educational qualification, and in some states agitation is being made for property qualification. As the surplus product increases beyond the market, men are thrown out of work. As men are discharged, competition for positions begins among the workers, and wages go down; as wages go down the worker is less able to own property or to school his children, and thus a process of disfranchising the working class begins, imperialism rears its head from the industrial into political affairs, and taxation without representation becomes the political as well as the industrial policy of our country. The capitalist will diligently support the wages system and loudly declare that capital, though the product of labor, has "legitimate interests" antagonistic to labor, because it is by this process that they gain their power. They will multiply the issues and magnify their importance in their mad greed for power. A vote for either the Democratic or the Republican parties is a vote for the trust, for expansion and for imperialism, because these issues are the logical and inevitable result of the wages system, which they both support. Not until the working class organize a political party, managed by and for the interests of their class, and through the instrumentality of that party conquer the powers of government and reorganize the industrial institutions to the end that each producer shall have an equal voice in the management thereof, and that all productive capital shall be owned in common, and that the wages system shall be abolished and that each worker shall receive an equivalent for his total product, will the problems of imperialism,

taxation without representation, expansion, trusts, corporate greed and labor wars be settled, and the two now warring classes be united into one, fraternal bond of fellowship, making war upon nature for her fruits instead of upon one another.

This devolves upon the working class. It is to their interest. They have the votes, the power and the intelligence, and it depends upon the concerted action of the Socialists to deliver to them the necessary information as to its exercise.

The attitude of Mr. Bryan upon the points mentioned in the Democratic platform is interesting to know. It may safely be said that at this time the winner of the Democratic presidential ticket is not the truest exponent of the party machinery. Mr. Bryan's honesty and sincerity of purpose cannot be found among the men who shape the practical politics of the party. But economically Mr. Bryan, however well meaning, is only the reflection of the others of the middle class exploiter who is unwilling to leave to the bigger fellow the spoils. In his letter of acceptance Mr. Bryan says: "The Democratic party makes no war upon honestly acquired wealth; neither does it seek to embarrass corporations engaged in legitimate business." And again, in his reply to the Notification Committee: "The Democratic party is not making war upon the honest acquisition of wealth; it has no desire to discourage industry, economy and thrift. On the contrary, it gives to every citizen the greatest possible stimulus to honest toil when it promises him protection in the proceeds of labor. Property rights are more secure when human rights are more respected." These are noble sentiments, and Mr. Bryan feels an inspiration in being their champion. But the laboring man knows that "this honest acquisition of wealth," whether exerted by a trust-baron or a little employer who is always worse at squeezing labor, means the acquisition of the wealth produced by the laborer over and above his subsistence. And Senator J. K. Jones, chairman of the Platform Committee, and member of the Financial Committee of the United States Senate, which framed the "Sugar Trust Tariff" of 1894,

and a stockholder in the Round Bale Cotton Trust, also knows that it means just this, and can afford to smile in the enthusiasm of Mr. Bryan, who, in the security of his professional position, has not been taught the lessons of producing and exploiting surplus labor.

Mr. Bryan's remedy for trusts is the same as the Republicans', restrictive legislation. He finds that this will be difficult; a new interstate commerce law, then new state laws, and as these are not likely to prove effective, a constitutional amendment is necessary. But still Mr. Bryan does not feel secure. What people will have they manage to get in spite of legislative enactments. Mr. Bryan sees the necessity of finding a new set of men to enforce the new laws. "I shall select an attorney-general who will, without fear or favor, enforce existing laws." The next step that the logic of his reasoning will force Mr. Bryan to take is to change the hearts and nature of the people. Experience has so far failed to lead us to expect different treatment from Democratic officeholders than from Republican.

That President McKinley substantially agrees with Mr. Bryan in these glittering generalities is well known. In his letter of acceptance of the Republican nomination he says:

"Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several states should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create

monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained."

THE CAUSE OF HARD TIMES.

Chauncey Depew, in his speech at the National Republican Convention, said:

"What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands?

"It is because the surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this overproduction goes back to stagnation and poverty.

"The American people now produce two thousand millions dollars' worth more than they can consume, and WE have met the emergency, and by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates, we have our market in Cuba, We have OUR market in Puerto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people, with the Pacific as an American lake, and the American artisan producing better and cheaper goods than any country in the world, and, my friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm and say that with McKinley for another four years there is no congestion for America."

To an American workingman, even a skilled mechanic who makes \$3 a day, it must be gratifying to know that he belongs to the favored people who produce more than he can consume, and that in consequence he stands before the markets of Cuba and Puerto Rico to sell what he in his superfluity cannot use.

But perhaps the celebrated after-dinner speaker did not mean the American workingman when he said WE.

Valuable information as to who "WE" are in the Democratic party is given in the Chicago American, Sept. 6th:

WHO ARE "WE"?

"Ten or twenty men at most bought the fifty millions of English bonds. Suppose that industry, properly organized, had given the fifty millions of American dollars to one thousand American citizens. Those would have been extremely prosperous men, with \$50,000 of profits each. They would have been plutocrats—wildly, fabulously successful in the ordinary man's eyes. But their prosperity would have helped the whole country."

The "WE" in the Republican party are the men who own five or two and a half millions. The "WE" in the Democratic party is the man who owns \$50,000.

OTHER SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES RECOGNIZED.

In a Democratic campaign leaflet the following is found:

"The Republicans are giving us socialism, with all its demerits and none of its advantages. Socialism, not for the common benefit, but for the advantage of a few. They have organized the industries of the nation, so that for the vast bulk of the people nothing is left but wages. The element of profits is concentrated in the possession of a handful of proprietors. This is a change as revolutionary as the transition from feudalism to the factory system. The party that advocates it is the revolutionary party, and the one that opposes it is the conservative party."

A Republican pamphlet tries to open the eyes of the workingman in the following manner:

"It is of the highest importance to the workingmen of our country that they should thoroughly understand the vital relation of this policy of commercial expansion to their immediate welfare. No portion of our people are more directly interested in it than they are. What they want is the most active and constant operation of our industrial machinery. That means steady employment for labor; that means good wages; that means comfort and happiness for themselves and their families. If we can produce more than we can consume at home, if we should have a surplus that would be unsalable unless we could find markets for it abroad, then it follows

that the labor which produces that surplus is deeply concerned in a national policy which opens such outlets."*

On page 765 of the *North American Review* Mr. Bryan says of the anti-trust movement: "The Democratic party is better able to undertake this work because all of the trust magnates have left the party." To illustrate the accuracy of this statement we give the following list, largely taken from the *Congressional Record*:

DEMOCRATIC TRUST MAGNATES.

THE ICE TRUST—Croker, Van Wyck, Wood, Gilroy, Brady, Carroll, Crummins, Sewell, Untermeyer, Myers, and the leading Democratic Judges and office-holders of New York, including nearly all the principal officials of the city.

SEWALL, of Maine, Bryan's previous running-mate, was one of the largest shipbuilders in America, and the richest man in Maine, the value of his property at his death running up to many millions.

J. K. Jones, of Arkansas, the national manager of the Democratic party, is a large stockholder in the Round Cotton Bale Trust.

Croker, VanWyck and others of the New York leaders are among the organizers of the auto-car company.

John Brisbane Walker, editor of the "*Cosmopolitan*," is president of a big automobile corporation.

Senator Gorman, one of the richest men in Maryland, is interested in several trusts.

Clark and Daly, of Montana, control the largest copper mines in the world.

The silver magnates are, of course, all Democrats.

Whitney controls some of the principal street railways of New York City.

Belmont is one of the wealthiest men in New York—and we know what that means.

Olney is interested in several large Massachusetts corporations.

*From a speech by the Hon. Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster General.

Bremner, one of the largest holders in the Biscuit Trust, has lately joined the Democrats.

Hearst, the California multi-millionaire, runs three of the largest papers in the country for the Democratic party.

Mills, and other Democratic Senators from the South, are very wealthy and hold stock in many corporations.

But perhaps Mr. Bryan's statement is after all correct, for Mr. Hanna sublimely declares in a speech made at the down-town McKinley Club, "I believe that there isn't a trust in the entire United States." If the Democrats have gotten rid of their trust magnates, and no trusts can be found under the Republican administration, why make so much fuss about the trust question?

SOCIALISM VS. BRYANISM.

"Is socialism an element of Bryanism?" is a question that Mr. Albert Watkins, a fellow-townsmen and intimate friend of Mr. Bryan, answers in the "Arena" for September. "What is erroneously and insidiously termed socialism in the populist and democratic parties is a popular determination to do away with the inequitable and oppressive industrial advantage held by corporate combination of capital." He maintains that none of the demands, even of the populists, may fairly be termed "socialistic," unless it be that for public ownership of railways and other natural monopolies. "If favoring municipal ownership of the so-called national monopoly is to be called 'socialistic,' then Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, notably, and the leading men of all England, must be called socialists, and the great municipalities of England are socialistic." "Mr. Bryan was nominated by both Democrats and Populists, but their platforms contain no socialistic declarations."

"The socialists' platform of that year defines socialism—what is now meant by the word—in its demand for redistribution of the land and all means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body. It seems to me that it is essential to a rational discussion of present political conditions to keep this distinction in mind. The real socialists were

the first in the field this year with a candidate of their own kind for President, and they fiercely and truthfully denounced Mr. Bryan as an individualist.

"Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan's audacious opportunism, of the facility with which he catches political sentiment of the hour and turns it to his own account, yet he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a democratic ancestry, and this quality still inheres in the democratic party in the main. Having observed Mr. Bryan's political beginnings and evolution, or, as others would put it, his evolutions, from the standpoint of a near neighbor, I have no doubt that he is a positive anti-socialist. And whatever his political eccentricities, he is not a radical. The great body of Mr. Bryan's supporters, the farmers of the West and South, have no thought of instituting or advancing socialism. On the contrary, they are in a campaign for overcoming obstacles to competition and individualism in all the ordinary industrial pursuits."

Mr. Bryan himself has compared the position of his party with that of those people who resisted the break-up of the feudal system and the introduction of machinery. On this ground he defends the present "conservative" position of the Democratic party which is opposed to this industrial revolution. We know what happened to the ignorant opponents of mechanical machinery. The same fate lies in store for those who put themselves in the way of twentieth century machinery—the machinery of industrial organization.*

Mr. Bryan himself has repeatedly declared that he is not a socialist, but stands on the individualistic platform of competition in industry. Only his desire is to check the growth of the competing capitalists, to have the state prevent the national growth of capital. He has no conception of the rights of the laborer to have voice in the industrial institutions.

He clings to capitalism as a drowning man to a straw.

*See Democratic leaflet "The Party of Revolution," which is taken from an editorial written by Mr. Bryan for the *Chicago American*.

His watchword is prosperity for the middle classes, at the expense of the large capitalists, "and the devil take the hindmost—the laborer."

CHAPTER XI.

Socialism in America

No effort will be made in this chapter to treat this subject exhaustively as the time at the disposal of the committee makes impossible the extended research which would be necessary for this purpose. It is only desired to set forth something of a description of the growth of socialism in the last year and a glimpse of its present extent.

When the socialist movement definitely rid itself of the pernicious anti-trade union attitude that had been saddled upon it and the two socialist parties joined for a common effort the effect upon its growth was at once felt.

The following publications were originally issued in the interest of the Social Democratic Party, when union of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. was perfected:

New York Volkszeitung (daily).
New York Vorwaerts.
New York Forward (Jewish).
New York People.
Philadelphia Tageblatt (daily).
Haverhill Social Democrat.
Erie (Pa.) Public Ownership.
Milwaukee Wahrheit.
St. Louis Arbeiter Zeitung.
Chicago Workers' Call.
Chicago Social Democratic Herald.
San Francisco Advance.
San Francisco Tageblatt (daily).
Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.

Since amalgamation was accomplished, the following trade union, reform and newly-established publications are spreading the propaganda of Socialism for the new movement, nearly all supporting Debs and Harriman:

Brewers' Journal, official organ of national union, Cincinnati.

Exponent, Saginaw, Mich.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.

Toiler, Terre Haute, Ind.

Coming Time, Columbus, O.

Enterprise, Stoddard county, Missouri.

Texas Republic, Paris, Tex.

The Herald, Warren, Mass.

Cincinnati Zeitung.

Labor Journal, Dallas, Tex.

Revyen (Danish), Chicago.

People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal.

Herald, Omenee, N. D.

Lantern, Fort Scott, Kan.

Miners' Magazine, official organ Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Col.

Western Socialist News, Topeka, Kan.

Kentucky Socialist, Louisville, Ky.

Nebraska Socialist, Omaha.

The Socialist, Seattle, Wash.

Coming Nation, Ruskin, Ga.

Arbeiter Zeitung, Buffalo, N. Y.

Der Herold, Detroit, Mich.

Humanity, Thomaston, Me.

Socialist Review, Kearney, Neb.

Civic and Social Problems, San Francisco.

Social Gospel, South Jamesport, N. Y.

Truth and Freedom, Fitchburg, Mass.

Social Forum, Chicago.

Young Socialist, Equality, Wash.

The New Light, Port Angeles, Wash.

Industrial Freedom, Equality, Wash.

The Co-operator, Burley, Wash.

People's Press, Chicago.

Social Crusader, Evanston, Ill.

The Critic, Rich Hill, Mo.

The Cleveland Citizen.

The International Socialist Review, Chicago.

Arbeiter Zeitung, Chicago.

Socialdemokrat, Chicago.

Robotnik, Chicago.

Minnesota Social Democratic Bulletin, Minneapolis.
The News-Letter, Chicago.

Perhaps no better illustration of the rapidity of the growth of socialist publications can be offered than that although this list was compiled with great care the editors of this handbook were able to add five additional names from their own knowledge while without a doubt a large number are still omitted.

Any attempt to describe the increase in pamphlet and more permanent literature would be wholly unsatisfactory but it is easily within the bounds of truth to say that there will be over two hundred times as much literature circulated this campaign as four years ago. One characteristic of this new literature which is a distinct mark of advance is that it is very largely written by American authors. Up to one year ago the socialist literature circulated in this country was composed almost exclusively of translations from foreign writers. While it is still true that as yet no American writer has produced anything that can be considered among the classics of scientific socialism, they are now occupying the field of propaganda and many signs point to the near coming of the time when American socialist writers will rank on a par with their comrades of other and older countries.

In no direction has the growth of socialism been more pronounced than among the trades unions. One year ago almost the only sentiment to be found among trade-unionists as a body relative to socialism was that of distinct hostility. While today this has by no means wholly disappeared there are a multitude of signs of change. Socialist papers are now having an extensive circulation among trade-unionists and many local unions have subscribed for such papers for their entire membership. On last May day in New York nearly 40,000 union laborers marched behind the socialist banners and listened to socialist speeches. The Social Democratic party has been directly endorsed by the United Brewery Workers at their recent national convention at Detroit and by the St. Louis Central Labor Council. The Western Federation

of Miners have endorsed independent political action along the lines of socialism. Such a resolution was also adopted at the convention of International Typographical Union but afterwards rescinded by a narrow vote. The A. F. of L. itself at its last annual convention adopted a resolution, "that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps to use their ballots, their political power, on independent lines, as enunciated in the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor." There is no other possible way of carrying out the meaning of this resolution save by working with and through the Social Democratic Party.

The spread of socialism is also marked by the inroads its doctrines are making among the professional and educated classes. The process of industrial concentration is crowding these classes to the wall and forcing them to turn their attention to the social problems with which they are confronted. Among those who have come from this class into the movement within the last few months it suffices to mention the names of Eugene Brewster, Prof. Geo. D. Herron, Walter Thomas Mills and ex-Governor Llewelling of Kansas.

A year ago the colleges and universities of America were the recognized citadels of plutocracy and the preaching of socialism within their walls would have been considered a mere waste of energy. Today an organization of college socialists has branches in almost every institution of advanced learning in the country and counts its total adherents by the hundreds. The day is now almost at hand when the American universities, like those of Europe, will be centers of socialist propaganda.

Victories have been won and socialists elected to office in numerous local elections, notably in Haverhill and Brockton, Massachusetts, and Marion, Indiana. Two members have been elected to the Massachusetts legislature and are there doing valiant work in the cause of labor. The party is now on the official ballot in several states and will have its ticket in the field in nearly every

state at the coming presidential election, while in thousands of towns and cities throughout the country full local tickets are nominated and an active canvass is being made.

It has been a part of the political history of all capitalist nations that as the middle class is forced out by economic advance the political party representing it disintegrates. This is the process which is now going on in relation to the Liberal parties of France, Belgium, Germany and England and which is now well advanced in the Democratic party of this country. No matter what the outcome of the present Presidential election may be the Democratic party is the representative of a dying class—the class of small exploiters of labor—and is being crushed between the real contending forces in the great struggle of socialism against plutocracy. To the Social Democratic party belongs the future and the present is a time of clearing the ground and organizing the forces for the oncoming battle for political supremacy between exploiters and exploited, producer and consumer, master and slave, capitalist and laborer. There can be but one outcome to such a struggle. The living vital force in society will cast off the decaying incumbrance of a past age and press on to the better day of a grander social order just bursting into view.

Owing to the short time at the disposal of the committee having this book in charge, many things were omitted and others treated much less thoroughly than they should have been. It is felt, however, that a very creditable beginning has been made for a series of handbooks which will each year present, in a classified and intelligible form, the facts of the American social and economic relations of most value in socialist propaganda. Quite a number of persons co-operated on the present work, and it is hoped that a still larger number will assist in the forthcoming volumes. It would add much to the value of the work if the readers of the present volume would send any criticisms or suggestions for future numbers to "Editors Socialist Campaign Book, care Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill." All such suggestions and criticisms will be turned over to whatever committee may have the publication of future volumes in hand, and will tend to make their work much easier and more effective for the purpose in view.

Why they
don't

The Social Democratic party of the United States reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. We affirm our steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution, (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation) and the large and ever increasing class of wage earners, possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools, and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and its political equality rendered a bitter mockery; and the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies, goes the annihilation of small industries and the middle class depending upon them. Ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalistic production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises, continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain.

Ignorance is fostered, that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women and children.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes despite their apparent or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class can not however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Changes in article

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